

THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF BIJAPUR 1536-1686  
AND GOLCONDA 1518-1636.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
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## Abstract

Chapter I discusses the scope of the thesis; the paucity of material rendered it impossible to study the five Sultanates of the Deccan, only Bijapur and Golconda were picked up. The origin of the latter states and the genealogy of their founders has been traced out.

Chapter II discusses the Isna 'Ashariya theory of Imamate and its impact on the Deccan.

Section on the Shah of Bijapur discusses the sectarian nature of the monarchy, its position, powers and functions. The misunderstanding that Nawab is inferior to Shah is removed. Generous treatment of the Hindus and the fallacy concerning Jizya exploded.

Section on the Shah of Golconda establishes Shi'ism as the state religion and also brings out the Indian and "National" character of the monarchy.

Chapter III brings out the position, composition, economic position and the bitter animosity of the Umara among themselves

Chapter IV. Owing to the early death of several rulers of Bijapur and the extreme youth of their successors, regency as an institution had come into being. Its role has been discussed.

Chapter V. The administration of these states was far inferior



to that of the Mughals. The Peshwa, Vakil or sometimes known as Vazir was the most important officer and the rest were his creatures and generally his henchmen. I.H.Qureshi's assertion that privy purse and state treasury were distinct from one another in the Deccan has been disproved.

Chapter VI discusses the nature and composition of the army and the reasons why the Muslims were forced to employ Hindus in large numbers. A recently discovered document from Haidarabad has brought to light some features of the military organisation of Golconda.

Chapter VII. The Muslim rulers were not interested in the local administration and generally left it alone. The fallacy that an Indian village was a self-sufficing unit has been exposed.



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London.  
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Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri.



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The object of the present work is to study the political institutions of the Deccani states of Bijapur and Golconda - a field of study which has not yet been made the object of a research monograph. In 1897, 1900 and 1903, under the auspices of the Nizam of Haidarabad, appeared the three volumes in Urdu of Tarikh i Deccan, which barely touched the various administrative offices in Bijapur and Golconda. This Tarikh did not attempt any comprehensive account of political institutions or any analysis of the historical background to them. In 1915, there appeared again in Urdu Waq'iat i Mamlukat i Bijapur by Bashiru'd-din Ahmad, which also did not give any critical account of the administrative offices of that state. In 1935, P.M.Joshi presented a thesis on the "History of Bijapur" to the London University for the Degree of Ph.D. This dissertation essentially aimed at writing the political history of Bijapur and its chapter on the administration of the state was very sketchy. In 1939, Mahmud Khan Mahmud wrote a good history in Urdu, entitled, Tarikh i Janubi Hind, but at the village level, it ignored the administrative system of the land. This is also true of N.Venkataramanyya's Early Muslim Expansion in South India and of Krishnaswami Aiyanger's South India and her Muhammadan Invaders. H.K.Sherwani has done a pioneer work by writing



The Bahmanis of the Deccan on the parent kingdom of Bijapur and Golconda, but the latter states have, of course, been left untouched by him. In 1956, 'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi wrote a History of Golconda, which dealt mainly with political events and not with institutions.

Though there is no monograph on our subject, yet there are a few articles published in the various historical journals dealing barely with the fringe of the problem, the most conspicuous examples being the two articles of K.K.Basu, viz., "The Dasturu'l-'amal of the Bijapur court" in the Indian Historical Records Commission, volume 17, 1941 and the "Memoirs of two Bijapuri nobles" in Indian Culture, Calcutta, 1939-40. When examined closely, these articles appear to be mere transcriptions from a Persian work - Basatinu's-Salatin of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, the former article taken from pp.348-60 and the latter from pp.130-32 respectively; they do not make any significant critical contribution to the subject.

Thus there was a genuine need of a dissertation on the administrative system of Bijapur and Golconda and the present work has been attempted to fill up the lacuna.

#### Early contacts of Islam with the Deccan<sup>1</sup>:-

It is noteworthy that though Muslim settlements in the

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1. In the annals of Muslim India, river Narbada has always been regarded as the dividing line between the Northern and Southern India.



Deccan date from the caliphate of 'Abdu'l-Malik Merwan<sup>1</sup> (caliph from 692-705 A.D) and the Muslim political hegemony in Northern India was established four centuries later (by Sultan Mahmud Ghazni in 1022), even then the Muslims were too few in the South in comparison with the North. The Arabs, even before the dawn of Islam, were trading with the coastal towns of the Deccan and their relations became closer with the rise of Islam, the Muslims from Persia also having joined them. The Muslim settlements were founded particularly on the Malabar Coast and in Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> Though essentially traders, these Muslims by their precepts and examples also preached the tenets of Islam wherever they went.

The process of peaceful expansion into the Deccan by the Muslims continued and gradually pockets of Muslim population grew up. Amir Khusrau has furnished us an interesting incident.<sup>3</sup> 'Alau'd-din Khalji's general Maliku'l-Islam (Malik Kafur) was pursuing Raja Bir Dhul at Kandur(modern Kannaur, Trichonopoly District) when he encountered some Muslim soldiers of the Hindu Raja and he spared their lives

1. Tarikh i Janubi Hind, Mahmud Khan Mahmud. Bangalore, 1939, p.53.

2. Ibid.

3. Khaza'inu'l-Futuh, BM Ms Add 16838, ff.73b-74a. A wrong translation of this passage has appeared in the Elliot and Dowsons', vol.3, p.90 that these Muslims were half-Hindus and except the recitation of Kalima were ignorant of the essentials of Islam. The fact, however, is that by subtle hits and rhetorical reproaches, Amir Khusrau has taunted the Muslims for siding with the Hindu Raja. By no stretch of imagination can this condemnation mean that they were half-Hindus. This wrong tr. has misled K.Aiyangar and Mahmud Khan (op. cit) pp.72 and 55 respectively. Hodivala who has critically examined E. and D. in his Studies in Indo-Muslim History has also not pointed out this discrepancy.



only because of their faith. Ibn Batuta, in the fourteenth century, also visited several Muslim trading settlements and particularly mentioned the mosques in Travancore, Malabar and the Canarese areas.<sup>1</sup> The Hindu Rajas showed their goodwill to the Muslims, as their presence meant a larger income for their governments. They had also begun to be employed by the Hindu Rajas of the Deccan in both civil and military functions, sometimes even as ministers. Taqiu'd-din 'Abdu'r-Rahman was the minister of ~~the~~ Raja Sunder Pandey of Ma'bar.<sup>2</sup> Bas Deo, the Raja of Fakanar, had about thirty warships and the commander of this fleet was a Muslim called Lula.<sup>3</sup> Earlier the Rashtrakutas had also had Arabs and Abyssinians in their armies.<sup>4</sup> Recently an interesting inscription<sup>5</sup> dated the 17th April, 926, concerning Muhammad Shariar Subakta, an Arab feudatory of the Rashtrakuta king Indra III has been discovered, wherein the former donated the village Konaduka in the territorial division of Kolimahara and also some land in another village Devihara to the temple of a goddess at Samyana (modern Sanjan). Muslims were found in the armies of the Hoysalas as well.<sup>6</sup> Raja Ballal Dev of Dwarsamudra had twenty thousand Muslim soldiers in his employ - recruited generally

1. The Rehla of Ibn Batuta, Eng Tr Agha Mahdi Husain, Baroda, 1953. pp. 180, 185, 187, 188, 193.

2. History of India as told by its Historians, Elliot and Dowson, vol. 2, p. 32. London, 1871.

3. The Rehla of Ibn Batuta, op. cit. p. 184. Fakanur is modern Barkur - a village in the South Canarese district of Madras.

4. Muhammad 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, "The Deccan in the fifteenth century", Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, N.S. 1925, p. 569.

5. V.V. Mirashi, "Chichani Plates of the Arab Feudatory Sugatipa", J.N. Banerjee Volume, Calcutta, 1959. pp. 96-109.

6. The Hoysalas, J.D.M. Derrett, OUP, 1957. pp. 71, 112, 153.



from amongst runaways, criminals, robbers and prisoners of war.<sup>1</sup>

### The Muslim Conquest of the Deccan:-

The Muslims in the Deccan were not only as peaceful traders but some of them appear to have also acquired some political influence.<sup>2</sup> But it was the Muslims of the North who conquered the Deccan as a whole and ruled over the land as a superior power. This process was started by 'Alau'd-din Khalji in 1294. His general Malik Kafur penetrated upto Rameshwaram - the farthest limit of the Deccan and reduced the Hindu Rajas to such subordination that they could be regarded as a part of the Sultanate. The aim of his Deccan policy was not annexation, but to obtain the wealth and treasure of the Rajas including their elephants - the most important <sup>part</sup> of their armies. The work of large scale Muslim colonisation in the Deccan was started by Muhammad bin Tughluq, when he made Daulatabad, the second capital of his empire in 1327. Soon Daulatabad grew into importance, as so many prominent Muslims were successfully

1. The Rehla of Ibn Batuta, op.cit.p.228. From where have such a large number of undesirables come? It appears, Ibn Batuta was enraged to find the Muslims fighting the battles of this Hindu Raja against Ghiasu'd-din, the ruler of the Coromandel and the husband of the sister of Ibn Batuta's wife.
2. It seems, the Muslims in the Deccan were politically a factor not to be ignored at least a century before 1294. They were ruling over the petty principalities and forts scattered hither and thither. An epitaph dated 1156 engraved on the tomb of a notable Muslim has been deciphered to state that the Muslims had gained possession of the fort of Deorkanda (in Nalgunda District) somewhere towards the close of the ~~XIII~~ eleventh century A.D. or the beginning of the twelfth century. Similarly some more inscriptions on this context have been found. Tarikh i Deccan, vol.3, ed. Maulvi 'Abdu'r-Ghafur Khan Rampuri and Maulvi Mir Kazim 'Ali Khan. Haidarabad, 1903.p.560.



persuaded to settle there permanently.<sup>1</sup> Though by 1337, Muhammad bin Tughluq had to give up Daulatabad as the second capital, that city emerged as a permanent centre of Muslim power and ever remained ~~xx~~ <sup>since</sup> a proud Muslim possession under the Tughluqs, Bahmanis, Mughals and the Nizams of Haidarabad, and therefore, this region was <sup>more</sup> profoundly subjected to the influence of Islam than any other part of the Deccan.

That the nature of the conquest and colonisation of the Deccan by Delhi was really firm-rooted is borne out by the fact that when the latter lost control over the former, the Deccan as a whole did not revert to the Hindus, but an independent Muslim kingdom emerged in the country between the Tapti and Krishna under the Bahmani Sultans, while in Khandesh another Muslim dynasty called the Faruqi extended as far as the Narbada. The Bahmani kingdom came into being in 1347, but towards the end of the fifteenth century, it was tottering. The chronic Shi'a-Sunni differences manifested themselves in an acute political struggle between the Deccani and Pardesi<sup>2</sup> nobles and constituted an important cause of the decline of the Bahmanis. The execution of the Pardesi minister Khwaja Mahmud Gawan in 1481 accelerated the centrifugal forces and very soon the dynasty reached the verge of extinction owing to the refractoriness of her nobles. Seeing the impending decline of the dynasty, her provincial

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1. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Agha Mahdi Husain, London, 1938. pp. 108, 124.

2. For Pardesi, see chapter III.



governors and jagirdars strenuously exerted themselves to fortify their own positions and as many as eleven of them succeeded in carving out independent principalities for themselves.<sup>1</sup> Out of these eleven grandees, six soon disappeared and about the beginning of the sixteenth century we find five kingdoms born out of the ruins of the Bahmanis. These five states were Bidar in the centre, Berar in the North, Ahmadnagar in the North-West, Golconda in the East and Bijapur in the South-West.

The 'Imad Shahis of Berar and the Baridis of Bidar ruled from 1489 - 1574 and 1488 - 1618 respectively. For the present, it is not possible to write a history of these two dynasties, as their records both official and non-official are still beyond the reach of the historians. Whatever little we know about these two states is only gathered from the scattered incidental references in the literature of their neighbouring states. Ferishta, the most eminent historian of those times failed to get any authentic record concerning them and expressed his helplessness in the matter.<sup>2</sup> Not even a surviving vestige of any royal building or work of public utility is ascribed to these states.<sup>3</sup> For Ahmadnagar, again, the paucity of material is striking. Its history Burhan i Ma'asir is not sufficient for <sup>our</sup> purpose. Whatever little we know about Ahmadnagar conveys

1. Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. J. Briggs, vol. 2, p. 14. Lith. Bombay, 1931.

2. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 349.

3. Tarikh i Deccan, vol. 2, ed. Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrami. Lith. Agra, 1900 p. 78.



the impression that she was, in general, the worst administered state of the five, except in the palmy days of Malik 'Ambar.<sup>1</sup>

It was owing to these difficulties that the study of the political institutions of Bidar, Berar and Ahmadnagar could not be undertaken and that this dissertation is mainly concerned with those of Bijapur and Golconda. The material available for the latter states is not plenty, but still by piecing together the scattered data, it has been endeavoured to achieve the object.

#### Independent states of Bijapur and Golconda:-

The particular dates on which these states assumed independence is a matter of controversy. Ferishta's assertion<sup>2</sup> that Bijapur and Golconda became independent in 1490 and 1512 respectively has been uncritically accepted by some leading historians.<sup>3</sup> A careful perusal of the contemporary documents does not confirm him in any way. According to Muslim usages,<sup>4</sup> only that ruler is independent in whose name coins are issued and Khutba read. If these conditions are strictly applied to these states, then by no stretch of imagination can they be called independent. A study of the coins of these kingdoms brings home to us the fact that Golconda, unlike Bijapur, had

1. Akbar conquered Berar in 1596 and Khandesh in 1601; Bidar had already been absorbed by her neighbours, viz., Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. Ahmadnagar suffered extinction at the hands of Shah Jahan in 1636.
2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, pp. 6 and 329.
3. Tarikh i Deccan, vol. I, p. 224; Cambridge History of India, vol. 3, ed. Sir Wolsely Haig, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 425 and 430.
4. The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli, I. H. Qureshi; second edition, Lahore, 1944, p. 74.



very little distinctive coinage of Muslim type, but appears to have used throughout its existence money of South Indian Hindu type as did the Dutch, Danes and the English, who minted the well known pagoda<sup>\*\*\*</sup> and its subsidiaries.<sup>1</sup> Coins of one state freely circulated in another state and were accepted at their face value, for example, the pagoda of Bijapur circulated in Golconda.<sup>2</sup> This is true throughout the history of these states. In view of these peculiar circumstances, it is necessary to dispense with the condition of issuing coins and to consider only the reading of the Khutba a necessary proof of the independence of a ruler. Even the latter circumstance presents great difficulties to us. In the Middle Ages, both in Asia and Europe, there were a good many principalities, which acknowledged no superiors, but whose rulers yet never had the courage to call themselves kings. The contemporary Faruqi rulers of Khandesh are the most conspicuous example for our purpose. Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk - the founders of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty of Bijapur and the Qutb Shahiya dynasty of Golconda respectively - both considered it impolitic to claim the title of Shah because of opposition of the local nobles, and they had to wait for an opportune moment to do so.

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1. Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century, ed. W.H. Moreland, Hakluyt, London. 1931. p. 92.

2. P.M. Joshi, "Coins current in the kingdom of Golconda". Journal of Numismatic Society of India, 1943, pt. I, vol. I, pp. 87-88.

\*\*\* Pagoda was equal to 7 Shillings and six Pence according to the contemporary English rates. Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-15. ed. W.H. Moreland. Hakluyt, London, 1934. p. 19.



Bijapur 1536-1686:-

Ferishta's assertion that Yusuf 'Adil Khan assumed independence in 1490 is not confirmed by any contemporary evidence. Rather Ferishta is self-contradictory in his contention as is clear from the following statements:-

In 1494, Yusuf 'Adil Khan, the Tarafdar<sup>1</sup> of Bijapur, on his victory against Timaraj, presented a [ ] to Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani a Hadiya<sup>2</sup> of very expensive articles gained from the war booty<sup>3</sup>. This clearly showed his acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the Sultan.

Immediately after this incident, Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani wrote to Yusuf 'Adil Khan for reinforcements against Bahadur Gilani, one of the turbulent Bahmani nobles. Yusuf 'Adil Khan promptly obeyed this order and sent his army under Kamal Khan Deccani, who defeated Bahadur Gilani and conquered the fort of Jam Khandi from him. This fort, as a matter of favour, was now granted to Yusuf 'Adil Khan under orders from the Sultan.<sup>4</sup>

Yusuf 'Adil Khan petitioned to the Sultan that if he were permitted to take the jagir of Dastur Dinar for himself, he would be in a better position to serve his royal master

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1. Tarafdar was the Governor of a province under the Bahmanis.

2. Hadiya means a present offered only to the superior.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. J. Briggs. vol. 2, p. 11.

4. Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 11-12.



against the refractoriness of Qasim Barid. This request was granted.<sup>1</sup>

In 1496, the Sultan ordered Yusuf 'Adil Khan to help him in suppressing Dastur Dinar; Yusuf 'Adil Khan fought on the Sultan's side at Mahendri against the rebel.<sup>2</sup>

In about 1502, Yusuf 'Adil Khan, feeling himself sufficiently strong, did try to have the Khutba read in his name and that too in a Shi'a fashion - an innovation in the history of Muslim India, but the opposition was so bitter that he had to drop this practice altogether and contented himself without such lofty ambitions till the end of his reign.<sup>3</sup>

Isma'il 'Adil Khan also never claimed for himself any emblems of royalty. In 1514, Shah Isma'il Safavi in a friendly letter addressed him as *"مجد السلطنة، المحشيت الشوك والانتبال"* (Glory of Sultanate, its power, grandeur and prosperity). These epithets pleased him so much that he involuntarily exclaimed, "Oh! Now royalty has dawned on us". Being immensely pleased with these titles, he ordered that on the occasions of all religious congregations, such as Friday and Id, prayers for the long life of the Shah of Iran should be offered throughout the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Even after this incident, there is nothing to show that Isma'il 'Adil Khan ever assumed himself to be fully independent.

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. J. Briggs, vol. 2, p. 14.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. J. Briggs, vol. 1, p. 720.

3. Ibid. vol. 2, pp. 19-20.

4. Ibid. vol. 2, p. 33.



These instances clearly show that neither Yusuf 'Adil Khan nor Isma'il 'Adil Khan ever claimed to be independent rulers. They generally considered themselves to be the Tarafdars of the Bahmanis. They entertained sentiments of loyalty to the person of the Sultan, as has been shown above, but loyalty to the Sultan's government meant subservience to the Baridi ministers, who then dominated the administration - which the Tarafdars could not tolerate. That is why, the Governors, in their mutual relations and in matters of foreign policy, acted independently of the Central Government.

Our assertion that Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Isma'il 'Adil Khan never claimed royal titles for themselves is borne out by further evidence. A Farman<sup>1</sup> of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I dated the 16th November 1566 reveals the fact that the first three rulers of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty, Yusuf 'Adil Khan(1490-1510), Isma'il 'Adil Khan (1510-34) and Mallu 'Adil Khan who ruled for about eight months, never claimed for themselves the title of Shah. They were always contented to call themselves Khan, which means merely an amir. This Farman explicitly refers to their positions subordinate to the Bahmani Sultan, but mentions Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I with the titles of royalty.

The epigraphical evidence also confirms the view that the first three rulers never claimed regnal powers<sup>2</sup>. The Arabic

1. G.H. Khare, "A letter of assurance from 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, Proceedings Indian Historical Records Commission, October, 1945.  
2. K.M. Ahmad, "The inscriptions of Raichur in the Hyderabad Museum" Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1939-40, p.16 (nos. 3, 4, 5).



inscriptions of Raichur dated 1515 describe Mahmud Shah Bahmani as the ruling sovereign and refer to Isma'il 'Adil Khan as his premier noble exalted with the title of Majlis i Rafi'.<sup>1</sup> In another inscription dated 1534, Mallu 'Adil Khan has been styled as Swa'i Mallu Khan son of Isma'il 'Adil Khan. There is no mention of kingship anywhere. It seems that it was the sentiment of loyalty to the Bahmani Sultan and possibly the fear of opposition from the local nobles that deterred the provincial governors from assuming royal titles and this is true of the first three rulers of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty. In 1534, the Bahmani dynasty was finally wiped out of existence and it is improbable that homage was paid to the master when he was no longer alive. Therefore, soon after this incident, Bijapur assumed independence. The epigraphical evidence clearly shows that the fourth ruler Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I assumed the title of Shah towards the end of 1536.<sup>2</sup>

In view of this overwhelming evidence, H.K.Sherwani's conclusion about the subordinate position of the first three rulers of this dynasty seems to be correct.<sup>3</sup> As far as is known, no coins were issued in the names of the first four rulers of this dynasty, who it is presumed, carried on government with the coins issued by the Bahmani Sultans.

Ferishta wrote his voluminous history in 1606 under the

1. This title was formerly conferred on his father Yusuf 'Adil Khan by the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah III.  
Basatinu's-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, lith. Haidarabad, N.D. p.8.
2. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1939-40, pp.17-22. (nos.6-11).
3. H.K.Sherwani, "Independence of the Bahmani Governors", Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1944, pp.256-62.



patronage of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II<sup>1</sup> and therefore, it served his interests to extol the predecessors of his royal master. Hence his assertion in this matter is not acceptable to us. Thus we are in a position to state that legally speaking, Bijapur became a sovereign state in 1536 and so remained until its extinction at the hands of Aurangzeb in 1686.

Golconda, 1518-1636:-

Ferishta gives 1512 as the date when Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk assumed independence. This date has been uncritically accepted by some leading historians as if it were quite true. As already discussed (pp.10-11), Ferishta is self-contradictory and his statements on this context should not be accepted readily. In spite of his best efforts, he failed to get a copy of Shah Khwur Shah's history written in the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-80), which dealt with the reigns of the early Qutb Shahs<sup>2</sup> and he has frankly admitted the incompleteness of his knowledge of them.<sup>3</sup>

Epigraphical evidence ~~has~~ helped us in solving the problem. An inscription<sup>4</sup> fixed over the doorway of the Jami' Mosque at Golconda dated 1518 mentions (in full titles) "the reign of the great king al-Mutwakkilu'l-Ilahiu'l-Ghani (trusting in God the Independent) Abu'l-Maghazi Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah Bahmani - May God perpetuate his kingship and sovereignty!

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. J. Briggs. vol. I, pp. 5, 518.

2. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 328.

3. Ibid.

4. G. Yazdani, "Date of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah's assuming the title of kingship". Journal Archaeological Society, Haidarabad, 1918. pp. 18-19.



and its builder is the humble and suppliant of God, the Lord of the Universe, Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk in the year 1518".

This inscription makes the situation quite clear, by 1518 Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk admitted Mahmud Shah Bahmani as his superior with royal titles, and no royal title is appended to his own name at all.

The Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah<sup>1</sup> - the official history of the Qutb Shahs, gives an account of the coronation of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, but does not mention the date of his accession. It states, however, that his coronation was held after he had completed the fort of Muhammad Nagar, i.e., Golconda.<sup>2</sup> The construction of the city of Golconda and the building of the fort are incidentally mentioned together in the same context.<sup>3</sup> Among the various buildings constructed to beautify the city, the Jami' Mosque is also mentioned. This Mosque was designed on one side of the royal palaces and seems to be the very Mosque, the inscription of which has been noticed above.<sup>4</sup> In view of this data, it is possible to fix 1518 as the date when Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk assumed independence. During the life-time of his patron and royal master Mahmud Shah Bahmani, he did not assume independence, but on the former's death in 1518, the latter immediately declared his independence.

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1. BM Ms Add 6542, ff.46b-47a.

2. Ibid, ff.47a-b.

3. Ibid, ff.48a.

4. Ibid.



G.Yazdani's analysis fixing 1518 as the date of the assumption of kingship by Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk has been challenged by H.K.Sherwani on the following ground:<sup>1</sup>

If 1518 is accepted as the correct date of assumption of kingship, then how does one explain the mere title of Qutbu'l-Mulk (and not Qutb Shah) in the epitaph of his tomb in 1543?<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, difficult to agree with H.K.Sherwani for the following reasons:-

The statement of the official Tarikh/i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi about the coronation of Sultan Quli is more trustworthy than any other source. It is also corroborated by Hadiquatu's-Salatin, an official history of the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-72), where Sultan Quli is explicitly mentioned as Qutb Shah.<sup>3</sup> Khafi Khan has also confirmed this statement.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that Sultan Quli, in order to magnify his kingship had arrogated to himself the practice of striking five naubats a day - a typical practice of the Bahmani Sultans, which was not repeated by any other 'children' states of the Bahmanis.<sup>5</sup> Thus the assumption of kingship by Sultan Quli is a fact, but nevertheless the absence of a royal title <sup>on his tomb</sup> has to be explained.

1.H.K.Sherwani,"Independence of the Bahmani Governors".  
Proceedings Indian History Congress,1944.p.262.

2.Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,1907-8,p.23.

3.Hadiquatu's-Salatin,Nizamu'd-dinu's-Sa'idu'shirazi,ed. Sayyid 'Ali Asghar Bilgrami.vol.I,p.67.lith.Haidarabad,1931.

4.Muntakhabu'l-Lubab,vol.3,ed.Sir Wolseley Haig,Calcutta,1925.  
p.279.

5.Tarikh i Ferishta,ed.J.Briggs,vol.2,p.329.



Sultan Quli ruled over Tilangana for about sixty years ~~both~~ both as a Tarafdar of the Bahmanis and as an independent king. About half of the period he had spent as the Tarafdar and owing to his superior qualities, he was affectionately addressed as Bare Malik, i.e., the Great Chief, by his colleagues. It seems that even after the assumption of kingship, he was being called Bare Malik by the fellow Umara and he did not wish to offend them by imposing his authority, as they constituted the pillars of his power.

Inscribing titles on epitaphs is contrary to the spirit of Islam and it is possible that Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk in a spirit of humility might not have liked to be referred to with a grand epithet on his tomb.

Thus Golconda should be regarded as an independent state from 1518 onwards, and it remained so untill 1636, when Shah Jahan reduced it to the status of a tributary state under the following humiliating conditions:<sup>1</sup>

Khutba to be read in the <sup>name of</sup> Shah Jahan and her coinage to bear the impress of the Mughal Government; payment of an annual tribute of two lakhs of Huns.

2

In a treaty with 'Adil Khan of Bijapur(1636), the latter was explicitly told by Shah Jahan that Qutbu'l-Mulk's territory was not henceforth to be intruded upon by him, as Qutbu'l-Mulk was placed under the protection of the Mughal Government.

1. Padshah Nama, 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lahori, ed. Maulvi Kabiru'd-din Ahmad and 'Abdu'r-Rahman, Calcutta, 1867. vol. I, pt. II, pp. 210-11.  
2. Ibid, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 171.



This tributary state remained in existence for half a century, and it was finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1687.  
Genealogy of Yusuf 'Adil Khan:-

There are two traditions concerning the lineage of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, the first exalts him to be the younger son of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (1421-51) and the second merely states that he was the scion of a chief of Persia. The former was supported by Ferishta<sup>1</sup> and the latter by Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi.<sup>2</sup> Both were contemporaries and wrote their histories in 1606 and 1609 respectively in the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (1580-1627). The divergence of their views, however, is significant.

Ferishta was of the view that Yusuf 'Adil Khan was the younger son of Murad II. On the death of the Sultan, the new king Muhammad, in his zeal to extirpate every other claimant to the throne, ordered the execution of his younger brother Yusuf, whose mother through a master stroke of cleverness, managed the escape of Yusuf to Savah under the charge of a trader Khwaja 'Amadu'd-din Garjastani.<sup>3</sup> Here the prince was given good education by the Khwaja, who later on brought him to India, where Khwaja Mahmud Gawan the famous minister of the Bahmanis, welcomed him and enlisted him in the Khasa Khail.<sup>4</sup> Yusuf, through sheer merit, progressed very rapidly and was

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. J. Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 1-4.

2. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Persian Supplement 189, ff. 18b-27b.

3. A native of Georgia is called Garjastani.

4. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, vol. 3, p. 271.

For Khasa Khail, see the chapter on Army.



ultimately promoted to the post of the Tarafdar of Bijapur.

Ferishta says that he heard this from Mirza Muhammad of Savah, who was the son of Ghiasu'd-din Muhammad, a minister of Yusuf 'Adil Khan<sup>1</sup>.

On a closer examination, this theory loses weight for the following reasons:-

Had Yusuf 'Adil Khan really been the son of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II, then judging from his ancestry, there are greater chances of his being a Sunni, but in fact, he was a very staunch Shi'a, and the first ruler in the history of Muslim India, who had ~~read~~ the Khutba read in his name according to the Shi'a rites and the names first three Holy Companions <sup>of</sup> deleted from it.<sup>2</sup>

Ferishta, who compiled his voluminous Tarikh under the royal patronage of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, was provided with the best facilities and most of the important books were made available to him for reference.<sup>3</sup> Even <sup>then</sup> it is surprising to imagine that he could not trace with confidence the genealogy of his patron's ancestor Yusuf 'Adil Khan and had to rely merely upon Mirza Muhammad of Savah, the son of an interested court official. This very circumstance prejudices the whole case. Ferishta was a court historian of the 'Adil Shahs and it served his interests to extol the ancestors of his patron even at the

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 4.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, op. cit. pp. 18-20.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol. 1, p. 5.



cost of truth, and perhaps that is why, he believed this mere hearsay.

The epigraphical evidence also refutes the alleged Turkish lineage of Yusuf 'Adil Khan. In various 'Adil Shahi inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> the word Swa'i is added to the names of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Isma'il 'Adil Khan and Mallu 'Adil Khan, which implies that they originally hailed from Savah, a town in Persia. Muhammad Zaka Ullah's Explanation<sup>2</sup> that Yusuf 'Adil Khan excelled in soldiery and in the art of administration, and was hence referred to as Sawa'i,<sup>3</sup> loses its force when we find this title appended to the name of Mallu 'Adil Khan - the most worthless of all the rulers of this dynasty. Similarly Henry Cousens' assumption<sup>4</sup> that the addition of Swa'i to the name of Yusuf 'Adil Khan simply meant that he was educated at Savah, loses its force when we find Swa'i also written after the names of Isma'il 'Adil Khan and Mallu 'Adil Khan, who were both born and brought up in the Deccan, and there was no sense in their going to Savah for a higher education, which they could easily obtain at home. In those days, Savah was a well-known centre of the Shi'a and the origin of Yusuf from Savah explains his faith in Shi'ism.

Moreover, this theory of Turkish origin of Yusuf 'Adil Khan also seems to be unknown to the Ottoman historians.<sup>5</sup>

1. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1939-40, pp. 16-17, Inscriptions 3, 4, 5.
2. Tarikh i Hindostan, vol. 4, pt. 2, Delhi, 1897, p. 97.
3. Swa'i ( بگوار بگوار ) in Urdu literally means one and one-fourth and metaphorically means excellent.
4. Bijapur and its Architectural Remains, Bombay, 1916, p. 2.
5. Article on Bijapur in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 1, Fasciculus 19, p. 1202. London, 1959.



Munajam Bashi in his Jami'u'l-Duwal described Yusuf 'Adil Khan as of Turcoman origin.<sup>1</sup>

Theory of Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi:-

Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi was a high official of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty and served the Government for over thirty five years in various capacities, as master of the mint, chamberlain, Akhwan i Salar and ambassador. His knowledge of day to day happenings, judging ~~from~~ from his Tarikh, seems to have been quite<sup>deep</sup>. He once visited Gogi, where Yusuf 'Adil Khan and his descendents were buried. The cemetery was maintained by the state and one hundred Hafiz i Qur'an were employed there for qir'at. One of them was Hafiz Shamsu'd-din Khizri - more than ninety years old and a very widely travelled man who became very friendly with Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi and often narrated to him the incidents of his life. Regarding the genealogy of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, he said,<sup>2</sup> "Yusuf was the son of Muhammad Beg, the Governor of the province of Savah, and when the latter was killed in the battlefield, his progeny being very greatly harassed by their opponents, fled away wherever they could find safety. Yusuf, then a child, was brought to Ispahan and from there to Shiraz and later on, he managed to reach India. Here he earned a great fame for being a great wrestler before Mahmud Shah Bahamani, was appointed Kotwal<sup>3</sup> followed by rapid

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, op.cit.p.1202.

2. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N.Paris, P.S.189, ff.18b-27b.

3. For Kotwal, see chapter on the Central Structure.



promotions, till he was promoted to be the Tarafdar of Bijapur".

On the very surface, this theory seems tenable. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi had gained this information from a disinterested person who could have no motive in extolling the 'Adil Shahs and had also been in attendance upon Yusuf when he was a child at Savah.<sup>1</sup> Henry Cousens<sup>2</sup> has attacked this theory on the ground that the Crescent, the Turkish national symbol on some of the old buildings of Bijapur leads colour to the view that the 'Adil Shahs believed in their princely descent from the Ottomans, but this fact can hardly be the evidence of their Turkish origin particularly when we find several inscriptions, already referred to, explicitly mentioning their origin from Savah. Moreover, Crescent is such a symbol, which so many Muslim countries have owned it with pride and it is difficult to prove that in the sixteenth century (under reference), it was essentially a monopoly of the Turks and of no other Islamic country.

Had Yusuf 'Adil Khan really belonged to the family of the Ottomans Sultans, he would have mentioned it with pride and there are greater chances of his being a Sunni, but the facts are just the reverse. It seems, that his flatterers raised him to such high estate in order to suit their own purposes. It has been aptly remarked that had he not been ~~not~~ a staunch Shi'a, on account of his superb qualities, he would have

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1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris, P.S. 189, ff. 19b.

2. Bijapur and its Architectural Remains, p. 2.



succeeded in becoming the overlord of the defunct Bahmani kingdom and not merely of Bijapur.<sup>1</sup>

The very circumstance that both Ferishta and Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi were intimately connected with the 'Adil Shahi Government, but yet for their knowledge of the origin of this dynasty, they had to depend upon mere hearsay, leads to an irresistible conclusion that its origin was certainly not from any royal family. It apparently originated from the lower nobility of Persia.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Origin of the Qutb Shahs:-

There is no unanimity of opinion regarding the origin of this dynasty and various theories have been put forward. A fact worthy of note regarding the origin of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, the founder of the dynasty is that none of his contemporaries ever raised him to the pinnacle of royalty as was the case with Yusuf 'Adil Khan.

Ferishta, whose knowledge of the Qutb Shahs was not deep according to his own admission, mentions two traditions concerning the origin of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk.<sup>3</sup> Firstly, that he was a Baharlu Turk and hailed from the clan of Mir 'Ali Shakir; secondly, that he was a descendent of Mirza Jahan Shah;

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1. Tarikh i Deccan, vol.1, p.270.

2. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, the 19th century historian of the 'Adil Shahs (in his Basatinu's-Salatin) has scrupulously avoided giving his own views concerning the origin of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, though he knew the theories mentioned above.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol.2, p.328. He particularly regretted the non-availability of Tarikh i Qutb Shahi by Shah Khur to him, which dealt with the early with the early Qutb-Shahs. Shah Khur had migrated from Iraq in the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-80).



<sup>1</sup>  
 Ferishta himself accepted the first version without giving any reason and doubted the latter without explicitly mentioning his sources. But it seems, the latter theory is supported by two other sources at our disposal.

Mahmud bin 'Abdullah Nishapuri has mentioned that Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk was a descendent of Amir Qara Yusuf - a near relation of Amir Jahan Shah and that he and his ancestors belonged to the town of Sa'dabad in the Persian province of Hamadan.<sup>2</sup> When his tribe, the Qara-Quvinlu, was subjugated by another tribe Aq-Quvinlu, the former took to flight.<sup>4</sup> Sultan-Quli was then a child and came to the Deccan along with his uncle Allah Quli Beg.<sup>5</sup> Having met the Bahmani Sultan Mahmud - Shah and settled his commercial affairs, his uncle went back to Iraq along with him. The Deccan much enchanted the youth Sultan Quli and he wanted to return. Soon, he gathered presents and swift horses and in the company of his uncle again left for the Deccan. When they reached Yazd, he was blessed by the mystic N'aimu'd-din Ni'mat Ullah Sani, who foretold kingship for him in the near future. Sultan Quli, on reaching Mahmudabad, the capital of Bidar, was graciously received by the

1. Tarikh i Ferishta, (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 328.

2. Ma'asir i Qutb Shahi Mahmudi, I.O. Ms 841, f. 86a-b, and Shah Ni'mat Ullah Wali Kermani, ed. Jean Aubin, Paris, 1956, pp. 213-14.

3. No Sa'dabad is known in the region of Hamadan. It is possible that we have here an auditive mistake for Asadabad where the famous pass to the West of Hamadan is situated.

V. Minorsky, "The Qara Quvinlu and the Qutb Shahs", Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 17, 1955, f.n. 3, p. 68.

4. Tarikh i Khur Shah, BM Ms Add 23513, ff. 431a-436b.

5. Tarikh i 'Alam-Arai 'Abbasi, Iskandar Beg Turkman, ed. Iraj - Afshar, Teheran, 1955, p. 866.



Bahmani Sultan Mahmud Shah and appointed as one of his courtiers. He rose rapidly on account of his higher capabilities and was ultimately promoted to be the Tarafdar of Tilangana.

This evidence has been corroborated by the discovery of a genealogical table<sup>1</sup> written in the handwriting of Muhammad Qutb - Shah (1612-26), the sixth ruler of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty and is given below:-

"Muhammad Qutb Shah son of Mirza Muhammad Amin s/o Ibrahim Qutb Shah s/o Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk s/o Uwais Quli s/o Fir Quli s/o Alwand Beg s/o Mirza Sikandar s/o Qara Yusuf s/o Qara Muhammad Turkman".

The official Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi agrees with this Table till Qara Muhammad Turkman, but it seems, the author could not help flattering his royal patron. Though he did not raise Sultan Quli to the dignity of a prince and simply called him Amirzada<sup>2</sup> in the first chapter of his book, yet he<sup>3</sup> endeavoured to connect him with the Prophet Noah. Obviously, he could not give any proof in support of his assertion.

Thus Sultan Quli really hailed from the Qara-Quvvinlu tribe of Hamadan - the confirmation of this statement by Ferishta; its endorsement by the official Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi and also by the genealogical table mentioned above, lead

1. Its photostat published in the Sir J.N. Sarkar Commemoration volume II, ed. H.R. Gupta, Hoshiarpur, 1958. plate 10 facing p. 338.  
2. BM Ms Add 6542, f. 17a.  
3. Ibid, f. 17b.



us to accept it.

That the Qara-Quvinlu tribe was Shi'a<sup>1</sup> and its rival Aq-Quvinlu, Sunni, has already been shown by Dr, Sayyid Azhar 'Ali<sup>1a</sup>. The fact that Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk belonged to a Shi'a tribe and was himself a strong believer in this sect, had far-reaching consequences for the history of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty. All the rulers of this dynasty were Shi'a; they invariably exerted themselves in its favour and always kept the model of the Safavids for their guidance. This view of Ferishta has been challenged by Prof.V.Minorsky<sup>2</sup>, who believes that as Ferishta was a Persian from Astrabad, therefore, in his zeal to extol the Safavids, he has laid too much emphasis on the dependence of the Qutb Shahs upon them. It seems that the view of Prof.V.Minorsky is not correct, for throughout the long history of the Qutb Shahs, the Shah of Iran always held an exalted place in their esteem. From the reign of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, the first ruler till 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, the seventh and last but one, the Khutba was always read in the name of the Shah Of Iran and prayers for the latter's long life

1. Majalisu'l-Mominin, Sayyid Nur Ullah Shushtari, BM Ms Add 23541, f.421a.

1a. Dr. Sayyid Azhar 'Ali, "Qara-Quvinlu Turkman", Ru'ydad Idara i Ma'arif i Islamia, vol.1, Lahore, April, 1933, where on pp.393-94, the author discussed its belief in Shi'ism.

2. V.Minorsky, "The Qara-Quvinlu and the Qutb Shahs", BSOAS op.cit. vol.17, 1955. p.52, f.n.2.



were offered at every Friday congregation prayer throughout the realm<sup>1</sup>. They were heartened by the Shi'i practices of the Safavids and strove to enforce them in their kingdom. Such activities earned them rebukes and censures from the Mughal Government<sup>2</sup> and constituted an important <sup>cause</sup> of exacerbation of feelings between them.

1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, vol. 3, p. 279.

2. Shah Jahan administered a severe warning to 'Abdullah Qutb Shah for having enforced the Shi'i practices and the Khutba in the name of the Shah of Iran. This was stopped forthwith. Fayyazu'l-Qawanin, BM Ms Cr 9617, vol. I, f. 17b.



Chapter IIThe Shah.

The rulers of the kingdom of Bijapur were mostly Shi'a and those of Golconda, all belonged to the Shi'a cult without any exception. They were of the Isna 'Ashariya sect and they invariably exerted themselves in favour of its propagation. Even the activities of the state were moulded for the sake of this ideal.

Section I. The Isna 'Ashariya Theory of the Imamate:-

This theory, in marked <sup>contrast</sup> with the Sunni theory, maintained not only the hereditary succession (through Muhammad, 'Ali and Fatima), but also the Divine Right of Imams<sup>1</sup>. The Sunnis consider only the office of the Khalifa (whom the Shi'a call <sup>2</sup> Imam) as Divine but not its holder, and that the Khalifa could be elected or nominated, but his elective character should always remain intact, though the number of voters might be reduced even to one<sup>3</sup>. The Shi'a, on the other hand, take the holder of this office to be Divinely ~~selected~~ appointed and not subject to any control by the people. The origins of this concept are to found in a cardinal belief of the Shi'a that right from the creation of Adam, a Divine Light has always been in existence for the guidance of human beings.<sup>4</sup> It was

1. The Social Structure of Islam, Reuben Levy. Cambridge, 1957. pp. 287-88.

2. To avoid any confusion in the two meanings of the word Imam, the Persians call the acting leader of worship pesh-namaz (leader of prayer) - a literal translation of the Arabic Imam.

3. H.A.R. Gibb, "al-Mawardi's theory of Caliphate". Islamic Culture, July, 1937.

4. A.K.S. Lambton, "Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government". Studia Islamica, vol. 5, 1956. p. 136.



present in Muhammad, after him in 'Ali and subsequently in every one of the twelve Imams. The reason why 'Ali is considered next in importance to Muhammad is to be found in a Shi'a tradition that the Prophet Muhammad on his returning to Medina from his Last Pilgrimage (630) halted at Ghadir Khum, nominated 'Ali as his spiritual and secular successor before a congregation of his followers, and, holding the arm of 'Ali, said, "Whosoever has me as his master, has 'Ali as his master".<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to the Shi'a, the Imam should always belong to the family of Muhammad and the choice is limited to the <sup>descendents</sup> of 'Ali through Fatima.<sup>2</sup>

The Imam being a representative of God is infallible, quite immune from sin and endowed with inner knowledge and vision.<sup>3</sup> He is also very brave, as otherwise he cannot defend himself against the enemies of his faith.<sup>4</sup> Whosoever amongst the Shi'a dies without knowing the true Imam of his age, dies the death of an unbeliever.<sup>5</sup> The Imamate is therefore, regarded as the mainstay of the faith and an essential foundation of Shi'a Islam.<sup>6</sup>

These were the dominant ideas of the Shi'a towards the Imamate, until the disappearance of the last Imam Mahdi al-Hujja

1. The Shi'ite Religion, Dwight M. Donaldson. London, 1933, pp. 5-6.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 2, p. 473. London, 1927.

3. 'Inu'l-Hayat, Muhammad Bakr Majlisi. I.O. Ms 587, f. 53a.

4. Ibid, f. 57a.

5. A Shi'ite Creed, A.A. Fyzee. OUP, 1942. p. 107.

6. Muhammadian Festivals, G.E. Von Grunebaum. London, 1958. pp. 85-86.



in 873-74 confronted the Shi'a community with a quandary. They could find no new Imam for their guidance, as it was thought that the Imam Mahdi was not dead but had become invisible. Ever since, the belief in the eventual return of the Hidden Imam to purify the world has become an integral part of the Shi'a creed.<sup>1</sup> The Divine Light which was considered a moving and guiding spirit in every age, also came to be regarded as stationary and obscured. To save the community from the consequent leaderlessness, the powers and functions of the Imamate were believed to be taken over by the secular ruler pending the re-appearance of Mahdi, who would purge the world of injustice and corruption.<sup>2</sup>

Though this transfer of power was a temporary expedient, yet the conception of the Divine nature and the infallibility of the Imam as inherited by the secular ruler was used to justify an absolutist form of government. The essential duty of a king - maintenance of law and order - was sanctified by the addition of religious functions.<sup>3</sup>

The Shi'i jurists justified such a state of affairs for about four centuries from the disappearance of the Last Imam, but from the thirteenth century, a change took place in their thought. The powers of the secular ruler were becoming more

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1. Muslim Theology, A.S. Tritton, London, 1947. p. 33.

2. A.K.S. Lambton, "Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government". Studia Islamica, vol. 5, 1956. p. 137.

3. A parallel of this instance is also found amongst the Sunnis, i.e., after the decadence of the Caliphate, its powers and functions were taken over by the (Sunni) Sultan.

3. Akhlaq i Mohsini, Persian text. Hertford, 1850. pp. 9-10.



and more extensive and most of the jurists, though not <sup>mi</sup>minis<sup>ing</sup> the importance of the Imamate in theory, in practice began to consider kingship even more important. The example of the Prophet Muhammad acting as both the spiritual and secular head of the Muslims undoubtedly impressed his followers with the contention that in Islam, government and religion are one and the same thing. Nasiru'd-din Tusi, the Persian jurist<sup>1</sup> of the thirteenth century, found them complimentary to one another.<sup>2</sup> In marked contrast to the earlier conception of the Imamate, he, a great believer in the "Twelvers", put forth the <sup>not</sup> view that it was necessary to have an Imam in every age, because the Imamate had left sufficient rules of conduct for the guidance of the Shi'a community, but it was essential to have in every age an administrator, who would maintain order in the affairs of society. Thus by implication, he virtually dispensed with the conception of the Imamate for the time being, but seemed to advocate the absolutism of the state.

Another Shi'i jurist, Husain Wa'iz Kashifi, wrote in 1495 for his patron the Timurid prince of Herat, Abu'l-Mohsin, a work entitled Akhlaq i Mohsini, in which he laid particular stress on the piety of the ruler.<sup>3</sup> He must abstain from evil deeds and himself be an ideal of piety and devotion to God, so that his subjects may get inspiration from him and follow in his footsteps.<sup>4</sup> The ruler should impart even-handed justice to all,

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1. b.1201, d.1274.

2. Akhlaq i Nasiri, ed. Muhammad 'Azizu'd-din. lith. Lahore, 1865. p.146

3. Akhlaq i Mohisini, p.9.

4. Ibid. p.10.



because a moment spent in administering justice is more remunerative in the next world than sixty years of unstinted devotion and piety in the path of God.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this is simple, by dispensing justice the king benefits the whole mankind whereas by prayers he gains merit for himself only. The king is the shadow of God meant for affording refuge to the oppressed people of the world.<sup>2</sup>

These in brief outline were the underlying ideas of the Isna 'Ashariya Shi'a on kingship towards ~~at~~ the end of the fifteenth century, at the time when the Shi'a states of Bijapur and Golconda were being founded. By the time, Shah Isma'il Safavi had founded the Safavid dynasty in Persia in 1501, the conception of an absolute government had become firm-footed in that realm. The Shah made Shi'ism of the Isna 'Ashariya sect, the state religion, as it still is, which meant that the Khutba was read in the names of the twelve Imams, the celebration of Muharram was a state-sponsored function, the coins and prominent buildings had Shi'a Durud<sup>3</sup> inscribed on them, and tabarra<sup>4</sup> was also generally an important feature of the state activities. The Shah further sought to sanctify his dynasty by claiming descent from the 7th Imam Musa al-Kazim.<sup>5</sup> The Persians, owing

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1. Akhlaq i Mohsini, op.cit. p. 52.

2. Ibid. p. 57. It is significant to note that some of the ideas of this author bear a similarity to those of the Sunnis.

3. Durud is a prayer imploring God's mercy and benedictions.

4. Tabarra is a public condemnation of the conduct of the Caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman, the first three companions of Muhammad.

5. Tarikh i Qutb Shahi Mahmudi, Mahmud bin 'Abdullah Nishapuri. I.O.Ms 841, f. 5b.



to the high descent of the Safavids, held the latter in great esteem. That is why, the Safavids were very popular and their rule became an absolute one.<sup>1</sup>

A fact worthy of note among the Shi'i writers of the Safavid age is, that they consider the Shah as the vicegerent of God and therefore, do not make any further attempts to justify his absolutism, which is taken for granted. They are generally concerned with his ideal functions, so that the community as a whole might gain. The doctrine of Akhlaq i Shafa'i of Muzaffaru'l-Husaini at-Tabibu'l-Kashani is a conspicuous example of this conception. The Shah should be strictly just<sup>2</sup>, benevolent<sup>3</sup> and vigilant so as to be able to devote his full time to the affairs of the state.<sup>4</sup>

#### Its impact on the Deccan:-

It is significant that the rise of the Safavids was contemporary with the origin of the Shi'a kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. The rulers of these states, both Shi'a from Persia, considered it their sacred duty to follow in the footsteps of the Safavids whom they regarded as their spiritual leaders.<sup>5</sup> They wanted to declare their faith openly, but for a short while, the fear of opposition from the Sunnis and particularly their own vulnerable position made them hesitant to do

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1. A.K.S. Lambton, "Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government". Studia Islamica, vol. 6, 1956. p. 125.

2. Akhlaq i Shafa'i, BM Ms Cr 3546, f. 13b.

3. Ibid, f. 15a.

4. Ibid, ff. 21b-22a.

5. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, pp. 18, 329-30, 342.



so. In the meantime, news spread everywhere that those parts of Persia which had been subjugated by Amir Timur and the population had been converted to Sunnism, had again become Shi'a under the influence of Shah Isma'il Safavi.<sup>1</sup> It was undoubtedly such actions of the Shah that swept away the last cobweb of indecision on the part of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, and, notwithstanding the heavy odds against him, he declared Shi'ism the state religion of Bijapur.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk practised dissimulation for sometime but when he found himself sufficiently strong, he immediately declared Shi'ism to be the state religion of Golconda.<sup>3</sup> He recognised the leadership of the Safavids and in his reign, the name of Shah Isma'il Safavi was read in the Khutba before his own name as the 'name of a descendent of his Murshid'.<sup>4</sup> This practice continued until the reign of

1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, ed. Sir Wolseley Haig, Calcutta, 1925. p.276. (vol.3).

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.20.

3. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab op.cit. vol.3, p.279.

4. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol.2, pp.329-30.

'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi's assertion in his History of Golconda, p.171 (Haidarabad, 1956) that Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk never looked outside India for political affiliations is thus negatived. Inscripting the name of the Shah of Iran in Sultan Quli's Khutba clearly meant the latter's subservience to the former, and this became a permanent feature till the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. This assertion of A.M.Siddiqi is also contradicted by Hadiqatu's-Salatin, Nizamud-din Ahmad; ed. Sayyid 'Ali Asghar, vol.I, p.68. Haidarabad 1931.



'Abdullah Qutb Shah, when it was stopped under the orders of Shah Jahan in 1630.<sup>1</sup>

Just as the Sultans of Northern India had endeavoured to strengthen their position by professing nominal allegiance to the Caliph of Baghdad, and just as the Bahmani kingdom<sup>2</sup> had gained recognition from the Caliph of Cairo, similarly the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda also wished to sanctify their position by owing nominal allegiance to the Shah of Persia.

Though the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda recognised the Shah of Iran as their spiritual and secular superior, yet for all practical purposes they were independent sovereigns. There was no subordinate agent or agency in these states, which was not in form, possessed of delegated power from them. They considered themselves all powerful representing the vice-gerency of God, in pomp and show in no way less than the renowned Darius and they held in their hands the reins of executive, judiciary and military administration. The only legal limit to their power was that they were expected to be the enforcer<sup>s</sup> and not the creator of the Shari'a. The personal character of the ruler was undoubtedly a dominant factor. A strong ruler's authority was universally acknowledged, whereas under a weak ruler, the administrative machinery was dislocated and the capital converted into an arena for contests between rival political parties for power.

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1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, vol. 3, pp. 279, 394.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. I, p. 263.



Though these kings were all-powerful in their respective spheres of jurisdiction, it would be erroneous to call them despots. In fact the very conception of despotism is vague. All political power has certain limitations and itself has to depend for existence on the unstinted support of strong elements in the state. This remark is eminently true in the case of Bijapur and Golconda. These states, as their history shows, were administered well only when their ruler was a capable person, otherwise the centrifugal forces were let loose and there was chaos everywhere.

It is with these limitations in view that we should study the position and functions of these kings.

## Section II. Kingdom of Bijapur:-

As already shown in the previous chapter, it was really from the fourth ruler of this dynasty, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, that the rulers assumed royal titles. They employed high-sounding titles and some of them went even to the extent of claiming divinity.

### Titles.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (1534-58).

ابراهيم عادل شاه 1

'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1558-80)

II شاه عاليجاه عالم پناه مہر سیر فرازی ابوالمظفر علی عادل شاہ غازی خلد اللہ علیہ وسلم دافض علی العالمین تیرہ و احسان

Exalted King, Asylum of the World, Sun of the Sky of Honour, Father of the Victorious, 'Ali 'Adil Shah Ghazi; May God

1. G.H. Khare, "A letter of assurance from 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, Indian Historical Records Commission, October, 1945.

2. T.W. Haig, "Inscriptions in Gulbarga", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1907-8. p.3, inscription 7.



sustain his kingdom and sovereignty and bestow on all creatures his affections and favours.

'Ali 'Adil Shah, the Omniscient King

1 علي عادل شاه الملك الحليم

'Ali 'Adil Shah, Servant of the family of Muhammad

II علي عادل شاه خدام النبي

III شمس جهان پناه ظل الله مبرك فراری الوانظف شاه علي عادل شاه خدام الله ملكه سلطان و اعان على العالمين ترون و احسان  
Emperor, Refuge of the World, Shadow of God, Sun of the Sky of

Honour, Father of the Victorious, Shah 'Ali 'Adil Shah; May God sustain his kingdom and sovereignty and bestow on all his creatures his affections and favours.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (1580-1627).

V سلطان الاعظم و الخاقان ملك القاصد والامم السلطان ابن سلطان ابراهيم عادل شاه دوم  
Great Sultan, Honourable Khaqan, Lord of slaves and nations,  
Sultan s/o Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.

VI. پادشاه عالىجاه عالم پناه مبرك فراری تاج الدين والدين الوانظف ابراهيم عادل شاه خدام الله ملكه سلطان و اعان على العالمين ترون و احسان  
Exalted King, Asylum of the World, Sun of the Sky of Honour,  
Crown of the World and Religion, Father of the Victorious,  
Ibrahim 'Adil Shah; May God sustain his kingdom and sovereignty and bestow on all his creatures his affections and favours.

1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. p. 1, Farman 1.
2. G. H. Khare, "A letter of assurance from 'Ali 'Adil Shah", Indian Historical Records Commission, October 1945.
3. T. W. Haig, "Inscriptions in Gulbarga", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1907-8. p. 2, Inscription 5.
4. The assertion of Bashiru'd-din Ahmad in his Faraminu's-Salatin, Delhi, 1926, p. 214 that Muhammad 'Adil Shah was the only king to have claimed Zil i Ilahi (Shadow of God) is thus proved incorrect. In fact, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was the first amongst the 'Adil Shahs to have claimed this title.
5. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 259.
6. the same as 3, p. 6, Inscription 16.



1 حضرت نواب کامیاب بردون اقتدار بھائیوں ارفع اقدس اعلیٰ الہامیہ عادلشاہ دوم

Exalted and successful Nawab having the dignity of heaven, the highest, the most sacred and auspicious Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.

According to 1 T.W.Haig<sup>2</sup>, the reason why the inferior title Nawab was given to Ibrahim 'Adi Shah II was that the king was a minor and the Queen-Regent Chand Sultana, an over-ambitious woman, was too jealous of her powers to accord him the full titles of royalty. The analysis of T.W.Haig is incorrect for the following reasons:-

The rulers of Bijapur originally came from Persia and throughout their history, they were greatly influenced by the Persian civilisation. The term Nawab, they seem to have borrowed from the Persians, and in the Safavid and Qajar periods, the title Nawab was used in the singular to mean the supreme ruler or prince.<sup>3</sup> In Afzalu't-Tawarikh,<sup>4</sup> there is a Farman of Shah Tahmasp Safavi to Muhammad Khan, the Governor of Herat, giving instructions for the reception of Humayun, who is mentioned both as Padshah and Nawab. Amir Mahmud in his Tarikh i Amir Mahmud<sup>5</sup> uses the titles Nawab, Nawab i Jahan-Panah, Nawab i Kamyab Ashraf and Nawab i Kamyab for Shah Tahmasp Safavi, just as he uses the title Nawab for Humayun.

1. T.W.Haig, "Inscriptions in Gulbarga", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1907-8.p.5, Inscription 13.

2. Ibid.

3. Landlords and Peasants in Persia, A.K.S.Lambton. CUP 1953.p.436.

4. BM Ms Or 4678, f.117b.

5. BM Ms Or 2939, ff.205a, 206b, 207a and 209a.



Munshi Iskandar Beg Turkman in his Tarikh i 'Alam-Arai 'Abbasi frequently calls his patron Shah Tahmasp Safavi, Nawab i Humayun<sup>1</sup>. The situation becomes crystal clear when we find even in an 'Adilshahi Farman, the king styling himself with an emphasis, Nawab<sup>2</sup>. Even Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the greatest of the 'Adil Shahs also called himself Nawab<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, our irresistible conclusion is that in those days, Nawab and king had the same meanings.

Muhammad 'Adil Shah:- (1627-57).

IV پادشاه سلیمان بارگاه اقبال اوج فرزندی سلطان محمد غازی عزت و شجاعت داشت

King whose court is like that of Solomon and who has been exalted to the zenith of good fortune, Sultan Muhammad Ghazi, the paragon of honour and bravery.

V از بخشش عنایت الهی الملك الاهی همیشه فتح فیروزی سلطان محمد عادل شاه

By the gift of favour from God, the Divine King, the always victorious and conquering Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah.

Muhammad 'Adil Shah - Shadow of God - - - - محمد عادل شاه ظل الله VI.

VII. In a Farman, Muhammad 'Adil Shah called his court, the court of the king; of kings and described his Farman as emanating

1. Ed. Iraj Afshar. Teheran, vol. I, 1955 and vol. II, 1956.

2. Notes on the Buildings and other antiquarian remains Henry Cousens, with Eng. tr. of the inscriptions by E. Rehatsek, Bombay, 1890. Transcript no. 818, the Barber's stone inscription, pp. 99-100.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 333.

4. the same as 2., transcript no. 420, pp. 49-50.

5. Ibid, transcript no 408, p. 85.

6. Faraminu's-Salatin, ed. Bashiru'd-din Ahmad. Delhi. 1926. p. 214.

7. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur F. 50, Farman 7, p. 10.



from the august, blessed, holy and most noble majesty.

'Ali 'Adil Shah<sup>II</sup>:- (1657-72).

I *خسروئی عالی پادشاه سلیمان جاد علی عادل شاه غازی*

Exalted king of Solomon's dignity, 'Ali 'Adil Shah Ghazi.

Sikandar 'Adil Shah:- (1672-86).

II *سکندر عادل شاه قادری الحارثی بن علی عادل شاه*

Sultan Sikandar 'Adil Shah, Qadri, Ghazi son of 'Ali 'Adil Shah.

A perusal of these royal titles and their comparison with those of the Bahmanis shows that several of them were borrowed from the latter,<sup>III</sup> for example, Abu'l-Muzaffar, Sultan i 'Azam and Taju'd-duniya wa din. But the fact that the Bahmanis were generally Sunnis and the 'Adil Shahs mostly Shi'a meant that there were many innovations. In particular, the Shi'a durud is often visible at the top of the 'Adil Shahi titles or Farmans. Out of the nine rulers of this dynasty, five, Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Isma'il 'Adil Khan, Mallu 'Adil Khan, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II were definitely Shi'a. It is possible that Sikandar 'Adil Shah - the last of the 'Adil Shahs was also a Shi'a, though since he was always a puppet in the hands of his Sunni regents and hence he could not formulate any independent policy of his own. These <sup>six</sup> Shi'a rulers styled themselves Shah, but the rest three Sunni

'Adil Shahs, called themselves Sultans in accordance with the

1. Notes on the Buildings and other antiquarian remains, op.cit. p.86, transcript no.427.

2. T.W.Haig, "Inscriptions in Gulbarga", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1907-8. p.8, Inscription 21.

3. M.A.Suboor, "Historical Facts ~~gathered~~ from the coins of the Bahmani Dynasty", JASB, N.36, 1925.



Sunni fashion. None of the Bahmanis had ever claimed to be Zil i Ilahi (Shadow of God) - a title adopted by some of the 'Adil Shahs who went much further than their old masters in this respect. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, a contemporary of Akbar, was the first among the Deccani rulers to claim this title. In the days of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, the Deccan had barely been touched by the Mughals and hence he was safe in the enjoyment of this title, which the Mughals considered as their birth-right. His successor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, in spite of his assumption of high titles, did not claim Zil i Ilahi for himself. The possible reason for this was that he had been slighted by the Mughals, had been forced to give his daughter Sultana Begum in marriage to prince Daniyal(s/o Akbar) and had been the first among the Deccani rulers to present a peshkash to the Emperor Akbar.<sup>1</sup> He also admitted his subordinate position to Jahangir.<sup>2</sup> The title of Zil i Ilahi was, however, claimed by his successor Muhammad 'Adil Shah, who invited thus serious trouble from Shah Jahan.<sup>3</sup> The brilliance of the

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol. I, p. 516 and Futuhāt i 'Adil Shahi, Fuzuni Astrabadi, BM Ms Add 27251, ff. 258b-260a.
2. Jahangir, in 1617, sent a Farman to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II at suggestion of prince Khurram, addressed him as Farzand (son) and wrote a couplet on the top of the Farman with his own pen,  

"شاهی زانتماسی شاه فرزند - به فرزندش با مستحضر عالم"

Tuzuk i Jahangiri, ed. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. 'Aligarh, 1864. pp. 191-92.
3. The Mughals always addressed the 'Adil Shahs as Khans in their official despatches. Khan means just a chief. Only Muhammad 'Adil Shah had the unique honour of being addressed as Sultan by Shah Jahan. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, f. 25b and Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 340, 342.



reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II was manifest only for few years, after which he steeped himself in the pleasures of the Harem and the gradual decadence of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty began, which led to more and more influence of the Mughals being felt in the kingdom.

Privileges of kingship:-

Generally speaking, the Bahmani institutions were taken over by the 'Adil Shahs, when they assumed royal powers, the throne, the chatr (royal umbrella), Khutba, coinage, the royal standard and the Zaminbos (prostration); but the Bahmani custom of striking the royal naubat five times a day was not copied by the 'Adil Shahs.<sup>1</sup> When the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty was in its infancy, it had only the throne, the chatr, the Khutba and the royal standard as its privileges. It seems, that the first four 'Adil Shahs did not mint coins of their own;<sup>2</sup> but carried on the business of government with the help of the old Bahmani coins. Only from the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I are the typical Bijapuri coins to be found, but the gold coins were first manufactured in the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah. The practice of Zaminbos also came into vogue in his reign.<sup>3</sup> The colour of the flag and chatr of the four 'Adil Shahs was yellow, but the fifth one 'Ali 'Adil Shah I changed it to green like that of the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar and challenged

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol. I, p. 537.

2. M. Ahmad, "Inscriptions of Raichur in the Hyderabad Museum", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1939-40, p. 11.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 340.



the latter to snatch the colour from him.<sup>1</sup> It was a custom in the Deccan in those days that if any king wanted to fight with another, he would imitate the colour of the latter's flag. This green remained the colour of the flag and the chatr throughout the reign of 'Alī 'Adil Shah I. On his death, the coronation ceremony of his successor ~~xxx~~ Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was performed by placing the green chatr over his head.<sup>2</sup> When Ibrahim 'Adil Shah founded the city of Nauraspur (1589), he had already become so infatuated with the word Nauras that he even gave this name to his flag and chatr.<sup>3</sup> Actually Nauras was the name given by the Shah to the specially <sup>prepared</sup> wine presented to him by one of his subjects. This wine had so greatly pleased the Shah that he used the word Nauras on all important occasions. It seems, its colour was yellow. That is why, he also ordered his flag and chatr to be yellow - the traditional colour of the 'Adil Shahs, which remained in vogue throughout their subsequent history.

#### Problems of Succession:-

Most of the 'Adil Shahs had short lives, died in the prime of their youth and were succeeded by minor kings and thus the problems of succession became very complicated. Yusuf 'Adil Khan, the founder of this dynasty, lived for 75 years<sup>4</sup> and that was the longest span of life for an 'Adil Shahi

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol.2, p.68.

2. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 95a.

3. Ibid, f. 134b.

4. Tarikh i Deccan, vol. I, p. 270.



ruler. Out of the seven rulers of this dynasty (excluding of course its founder and Mallu 'Adil Khan who was deposed after 8 months' reign), two, Isma'il 'Adil Khan<sup>1</sup> and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II<sup>2</sup>, lived only for 36 and 35 years respectively. Three minors, Isma'il 'Adil Khan<sup>3</sup>, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II<sup>4</sup> and Sikandar 'Adil Shah<sup>5</sup>, became rulers because of the early deaths of their respective fathers. Stop-gap arrangements for government by the Regents further complicated the situation.<sup>6</sup> The reasons for their short <sup>lives</sup> are not far to seek. The demands of a strenuous military life and over-indulgence in sensual pleasures sapped the vitality of these rulers. 'Ali 'Adil Shah II was the most conspicuous example of debauchery and moral depravity.<sup>7</sup>

In accordance with the established practices prevailing in Muslim as well as in Hindu India, succession was hereditary in principle, usually by primogeniture. The 'Adil Shahs, in general, obeyed this rule. Out of the eight rulers of this dynasty excluding of course its founder, five, Isma'il 'Adil Khan, Mallu 'Adil Khan, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, 'Ali 'Adil Shah II

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1. According to Khafi Khan, op.cit., vol.3, p.281, he became ruler at the age of 12; he ruled for 24 years. Therefore, his total age should be 36.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.437.

3. the same as 1.

4. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was 9 years old at the time of his accession, vide Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, op.cit. f.100a.

5. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, f.37a.

6. vide the chapter on the Regency

7. Ibid, f.33a.



and Sikandar 'Adil Shah, were the eldest sons of their respective fathers. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I had no male issue and nominated his nephew, the future Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, as his successor.<sup>1</sup>

The accession of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, though the eldest son of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, was managed against the express wishes of his father. The accession of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, though the youngest son of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, was arranged in accordance with the explicit desire of his father. Both these exceptions need an analysis of the situation. According to Muhyu'd-din Pirzada,<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I detested the very idea of nominating 'Ali, the eldest son as his successor for the following reasons:-

It was with the help of the premier noble Asad Khan that Ibrahim 'Adil Shah had gained the throne and as a mark of gratitude, he had made the Khan his father-in-law and held out the promise that if through that marriage he were blessed with a son, he would nominate him as his successor to the exclusion of 'Ali, the eldest son.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, he was blessed with a son (named Tahmasp) through that marriage and he was very keen to nominate him as his successor. But Ferishta gives a different version. According to him,<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I,

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 87.

2. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, ff. 11a, 14a.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 54-55.

4. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 64.



being a Sunni, detested the Shi'a leanings of 'Ali and wanted to disinherit him altogether. The Shah was once greatly offended by 'Ali in open court when the latter bluntly poured forth his Shi'ism<sup>1</sup>. It is, however, difficult to believe this story of Ferishta for the following reasons:-

The poor prince, <sup>who</sup> was never in the favour of his father, was often rebuked for ~~xxx~~ petty offences and imprisoned, and at one time his father ~~xxx~~ even contemplated hanging him<sup>2</sup>. Had he behaved in such a manner in an open court, he would, judging from his strained relations with the father, certainly have been hanged. Hence the reason mentioned by Muhyu'd-din Pirzada seems more likely to have been the cause of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah's wish to exclude 'Ali from the succession. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi, who was more intimately connected with the Bijapuri administration than Ferishta has mentioned nowhere the reason given by the latter in this context. The contemporary evidence amply shows that the personal accomplishments of prince 'Ali had so pleased the nobility that the wish of the deceased king concerning Tahmasp was disregarded and 'Ali <sup>was</sup> installed ~~as~~ on the throne as 'Ali 'Adil Shah I.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II had a great liking for his youngest son Muhammad and exerted himself strenuously in favour of his accession. He did not favour the succession of Darvesh Padshah

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol.2, p.64.

2. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, ff.14a-b.



the eldest son for the following reasons:-

The prince was a Shi'a (born of a Shi'a mother Malika Jahan, the daughter of Muhammad Qutb Shah) and his accession would have meant the predominance of the Shi'a religion and the supremacy of the Pardesis as was the case in Golconda - a situation which the Shah detested.<sup>1</sup> According to the evidence furnished by the Portuguese,<sup>2</sup> the Shah during the last days of his life was angry with the Queen Malika Jahan. That is why, he had blinded her son Darvesh Padshah in order to debar him from succession. The Queen Malika Jahan did not pocket this supersession quietly and with the help of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar fought for the succession of the six years old son of Darvesh Padshah, but in vain.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the usual practice for the Shah was to leave a will in favour of the eldest son, but he was not at all bound by the traditions of primogeniture and could nominate any of his sons for succession. While making a nomination, he had particularly to feel the pulse<sup>of</sup> the nobles. Sometimes he commissioned a powerful noble to execute his will; for instance, Yusuf 'Adil Khan directed Kamal Khan Deccani to put his will into effect concerning Isma'il 'Adil Khan and Isma'il 'Adil Khan asked Asad Khan Lari to enforce his will in favour of

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1. Basatinu's Salatin, pp. 280-81.

2. Assentos do Conselho, vol. 1, p. 317, f.n.

3. Ibid, vol. 1, pp. 326-27, f.n.



Mallu 'Adil Khan.<sup>1</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II had commissioned Mustafa Khan to facilitate the accession of prince Muhammad.<sup>2</sup>

The saying that kingship knows no kinship was fully understood by the 'Adil Shahs. Isma'il 'Adil Khan, being the only son of his father, had no serious rival to his authority, but after his death, the situation underwent a great change. All of his successors meted out brutal treatment to their near relations with a view to strengthening themselves. On the accession of Mallu 'Adil Khan, his brother Ibrahim was considered a menace to the state and was imprisoned.<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, on his accession to the throne, in retaliation for his imprisonment, had the deposed Mallu 'Adil Khan butchered along with fourteen of his progeny.<sup>4</sup> 'Ali 'Adil Shah I immediately after his accession had his younger brother, Tahmasp blinded and imprisoned so as to eliminate any serious rival.<sup>5</sup> When Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II became the king during his minority, his brother Isma'il was incapacitated by the Regent Kam<sup>i</sup> Khan.<sup>6</sup> Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the greatest of the 'Adil Shahs and said to be the most humane of all of them,

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol.2, p.47. For details see the chapter on the Regency . → *do Estado*

2. Assentos do Conselho, vol.1, p.317, f.n.

3. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol.3, p.306.

4. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, f.10b.

5. Ibid, ff.15a, 18a.

6. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9998, f.48b.



meted out very brutal treatment to his elder brothers Darvesh Padshsh and Sulaiman in order to strengthen his kingship against any rivals.<sup>1</sup> 'Ali 'Adil Shah II and Sikandar 'Adil Shah were only sons and therefore, they had no rival to kingship amongst their kith and kin.

#### Daily Programme of the Shah:-

The history of Bijapur, throughout the sixteenth century, is a record of almost continuous strife with the neighbouring kingdoms. Her rulers were also the leaders of the armies in the battlefield and therefore, nothing like a Daily Darbar or the Mughal Jharoka Darshan for the transaction of the day to day business of the state could be expected from them.

Nevertheless, whether at the capital or away on campaigns, the royal seal for the authentication of state orders was always kept with the Shah. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume, that all urgent matters requiring the Shah's signature and his seal-impression had to be sent from the capital to him

wherever he was, or they had to wait until his return to the capital. Yusuf 'Adil Khan (1490-1510) was mostly fighting during his reign against the <sup>local</sup> rivals (his former colleagues under Mahmud Shah Bahmani) and the neighbouring rulers.

Isma'il 'Adil Khan had to carry on this legacy of war against the same opponents. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (1534-57) was more or less engaged in strife with his Deccani neighbours

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1. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, f.18b.



throughout his reign. It is said that he was ever on the alert, being always in a state of unrest and in perpetual fear of sudden reprisals by his enemies. His son 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1550-80) inherited a legacy of war and feuds from his father and it was not long before he was embroiled in quarrels with his neighbours. After the victory at Talikota (1565), he seems to have wearied of active military life and to have devoted himself entirely to the pleasures of the Harem; he handed over the royal seal, with which he had never parted before, to his confidant Mustafa Khan Ardistani with full powers to deal with civil and military affairs of state.<sup>1</sup> His successor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was a minor, who was in fact ruled by four Regents in succession for ~~nine~~ years<sup>2</sup> and it was really in 1589 that he freed himself from their domination and adopted a fully assertive attitude. The institution of Daily Darbar in Bijapur owes its origin to him. According to Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi<sup>3</sup>, the king used to hold the Darbar every day in the Hall of Public Audience and the prominent nobles, courtiers, Silahdars<sup>4</sup> and Bargirs<sup>5</sup> would pay their respects to him. It was here that he transacted the daily business of the state. His generosity is said to have been so great

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol.2, p.83.

2. vide chapter on the Regency.

3. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 84a.

4&5. vide the chapter on the Army.



that whosoever amongst his subjects had any pressing needs, could approach him in the Darbar and would be satisfied. It seems, the Shah could not stick to this programme for long, as soon, his kingdom was threatened from within and without. In about 1598, he was free from these troubles and the conditions were restored to normal. In this period, he became so enamoured of the word Nauras that he used it in and out of season. He ordered that 'Id i Nauras' should be celebrated with great pomp and show on the ninth of every month provided that day was Friday. On the occasion of 'Id i Nauras', the Shah used to grant audience to everybody. Whenever any officer was posted anywhere in the kingdom, before proceeding to the place of duty, he would pay his respects to the Shah on the occasion of 'Id i Nauras', receive a robe of honour and then proceed to his station.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this general description of the functions of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, we have no more evidence available on this subject.

The seventeenth century 'Adil Shahs rarely led military expeditions themselves, but left them to their generals and so they were able to devote more and more time to the administration of the state. It is really from the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah that we get a glimpse of the daily engagements of the Shah.

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, the author of Basatinu's-Salatin has greatly facilitated our task by reproducing a Dasturu'l-'amal, which was promulgated at Bijapur in the reign of  
1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. f. 84a.



Muhammad 'Adil Shah. The very fact that Muhammad 'Adil Shah's reign was the golden age of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty, leads us to believe that most of the provisions of this document were put into practice. It clearly laid down that the foremost duty of the ruler was to practise equity in the administration of justice. The daily routine of the Shah showed that he was heavily engaged from early morning till night. From the early morning till the 3rd tas<sup>1</sup>, the Shah passed his time in the company of learned scholars and poets and discussed current problems with them. Also at that time, he used to receive reports from his spies scattered throughout the kingdom. These spies, who were mostly Brahamans, were directly under the Vakil<sup>2</sup> but enjoyed an unhindered access to the Shah.<sup>3</sup> From the fourth to the sixth tas daily except Friday, the Shah used to take his seat in the Hall of Public Audience, where the high officials, nobles, soldiery and the people would pay obeisance to him. The nobles used to stand on the right and left of the throne according to their ranks and order of precedence. This company lasted till the time for Zuhr prayers. The pomp and show of the Darbar was very dazzling, as it was meant to impress the foreigners and natives alike. After the Zuhr prayers till the ninth tas, the Shah used to transact the business of the state in private.

1. tas is from tasi sa'at (طاسی ساعت), an hour-glass.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 130-31, 357, for Vakil, see chapter V.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 130-31, 357.



All those matters whose discussion was not feasible in the open court, were attended to at this time with the help of proper advisers. From the 10th tas till one pas of the night, he used to remain in the retiring room and transact the business of the state from there. After the 'isha prayers, he rested until the morning.

At the beginning of the month, the Shah would take his seat in the Dad Mahal<sup>1</sup> from the morning to the 6th tas in order to listen to the complaints of oppressed people.

Every day in the month of Rabi'u'l-awwal, he used to make a pilgrimage to the Asar Sharif, hold public feasts of the choicest viands and also recite tahlil (there is only one God). In such public feasts, he played the host on Thursdays and on the 12th and 15th Rabi'u'l-awwal.

On a certain day of the Nau-roz festival, he used to ride to the Nau-roz bagh and took his pleasure there.

The above-mentioned discussion has been based on the Dasturu'l-'amal mentioned on page 51.

Muhammad 'Adil Shah was succeeded by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, who showed signs of vigour only for a short while and was soon steeped in sensual pleasures to the utter neglect of his kingly duties. He was succeeded by his five year old son Sikandar and the thoroughly demoralised government by the Regents facilitated in due course the absorption of his

1. Dad Mahal was a specially built palace, where Muhammad 'Adil Shah used to receive the oppressed persons and redress their grievances.



kingdom by the Mughals.

Farmans:-

One does not know of any elaborate procedure required for the issue of royal orders like those of the Mughals. The Farmans necessarily bore the royal seal and invariably contained the instruction to the addressee that he should return the original after taking a copy thereof. The originals were stored at the capital.

Khutba:-

The Khutba, the most important sign of sovereignty underwent changes from reign to reign. As already discussed in the previous chapter, Yusuf 'Adil Khan was the first ruler in the history of Muslim India to remove the names of the Caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar<sup>and</sup>, 'Usman from his Khutba and to replace them with those of the Twelve Imams in accordance with the Shi'a custom. Isma'il 'Adil Khan and Mallu 'Adil Khan faithfully followed him in this. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I was a Sunni. He reinstated the Sunni Khutba in its original form<sup>1</sup>, but his successor 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, a staunch Shi'a, reverted to the earlier practice and re-introduced the Shi'a Khutba<sup>2</sup>. The next ruler Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was a Sunni. In 1589, he abolished the Shi'a Khutba and reinforced the Sunni Khutba again. According to Ferishta<sup>3</sup>, this sovereign, as a gesture

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol. 2, p. 49.

2. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 66.

3. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 128.



of goodwill to the Shi'a, allowed the retention of the names of the Twelve Imams as well in his Khutba, but according to Khafi Khan<sup>1</sup>, this king enforced only the Sunni Khutba and there is no mention of Twelve Imams anywhere. This Khutba remained in vogue till 1686 - the year of extinction of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty. It seems, the latter version is correct, as otherwise the Mughals would have certainly <sup>censured</sup> the 'Adil Shahis, as they had severely reprimanded the Qutb Shahis for the same reason. Since there is nothing on record to show that the Mughals ever rebuked the 'Adil Shahis on this account, hence we may accept Khafi Khan's version. 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, though a Shi'a, did not wish to offend the mighty Mughals and seems to have tolerated the Sunni Khutba inherited from his father. Similarly, the minor Sikandar 'Adil Shah, though a Shi'a, was dominated by the Sunni Regents and hence the Sunni Khutba continued to be read till the very decline of the dynasty.

It is, however, interesting to find that though the Khutba changed from reign to reign according to the religion of the religion of the ruler, yet the royal seal words Na'ib i 'Ali always remained intact.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Shah and Religion:-

##### Six Shi'a Rulers:→

Throughout the sixteenth century, the 'Adil Shahi was essentially a sectarian monarchy. The change of state religion<sup>3</sup>

1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, vol. 3, p. 279.

2. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Mss Eur F. 50, Farmans 1, 35, 41, pp. 1, 51-52 and 59.

3. State religion expressed itself in Khutba, Farmans, inscriptions and favouritism towards the particular sect.



from Shi'a to Sunni or vice-versa are recurring features of the regime. Yusuf 'Adil Khan, though the first Shi'a ruler in the history of Muslim India, followed a very considerate policy towards the Sunnis, who were permitted to pray in accordance with their own beliefs, and officers were appointed to see that no obstruction was offered to the Sunnis from any quarter.<sup>1</sup> With a marked absence of sectarian feeling, perhaps <sup>even</sup> ~~for~~ from a wish to mollify the Sunnis, he had all his daughters married to the Sunni rulers,<sup>2</sup> Maryam Sultan to Burhan Nizam Shah, Khadija Sultan to 'Alau'd-din 'Amadu'l-Mulk and Bibi Sati to Ahmad Shah Bahmani. Isma'il 'Adil Khan proved <sup>a</sup> more vigorous Shi'a than his father. The arrival of a Safavid ambassador Ibrahim Beg Turkman in Bijapur was an occasion of great rejoicings for him.<sup>3</sup> In order to match the head-dress of the ambassador, he ordered that every one of his soldiers must wear a twelve pointed red cap, otherwise the presence of his ruler would be denied to him and he would be sentenced to a fine of twelve goats. On repeating the offence, he would be paraded bare-headed in the streets for public ridicule. This order was promptly obeyed. He also ordered the innovation of offering prayers in every Mosque on Friday for the long life of the Shah of Iran.

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, pp. 19, 18.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 22.

3. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 33.



Mallu 'Adil Khan also seems to have followed these practices. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I proved himself more fanatical a Shi'a even than his grandfather Isma'il 'Adil Khan.<sup>1</sup> His Shi'ism was fully manifest in the Khutba, Farmanas, inscriptions and in a generous patronage of the Shi'as of the age.<sup>1a</sup> 'Ali 'Adil Shah II was a Shi'a, but seems to have made no change in the Sunni ceremonials inherited from his father Muhammad 'Adil Shah. His son Sikandar 'Adil Shah was too young to formulate an independent policy of his own and was ~~x~~ dominated by Sunni Regents throughout.

Yusuf 'Adil Khan was quite tolerant, but Isma'il 'Adil Khan and 'Ali 'Adil Shah I followed a discriminatory policy against the Sunnis. Isma'il 'Adil Khan had banned the Deccanis and the Habshis from joining his army.<sup>2</sup> It seems, the Sunnis, in order to escape persecution, generally concealed their religion. The seventeenth century Shi'a rulers (for example, 'Ali 'Adil Shah II) were too accommodating to persecute anybody on differences of religion. 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, though brought up under the particular care of his step mother Khadija Sultan (the daughter of the famous Hayat Bakhsh Begum)<sup>3</sup> was not at all a fanatical Shi'a.

1. He employed 3000 professional tabarra'i to curse the first three Holy Companions every now and then, vide Waqi'at i Mamlukat i Bijapur, Bashiru'd-din Ahmad. Agra, 1915, vol. 1, p. 102.

1a. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 66.

2. Ibid. vol. 2, p. 31.

3. For Hayat Bakhsh Begum, see chapter V.



### Three Sunni Rulers:-

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I was the first Sunni ruler of this dynasty. He abolished all the Shi'a practices and also ordered that the twelve pointed red cap - the sign of a Shi'a - should never be worn by anybody. He dismissed all the Shi'a from higher posts, except Asad Khan Lari (his father-in-law) and commissioned him with the task of weeding out the Shi'a from the services altogether.<sup>1</sup> Suspecting that his eldest son, the future 'Ali 'Adil Shah I had become Shi'a under the misguided instruction<sup>i</sup> of his tutor Khwaja 'Inayatu'llah Shirazi, the latter was hanged.<sup>2</sup>

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II - a Sunni ruler<sup>3</sup> - inaugurated an era of toleration and magnanimity towards all classes of his subjects, which remained in general a feature of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty throughout the seventeenth century.

Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the greatest of the 'Adil Shahs, was tolerant towards all classes of his subjects. Under him, the kingdom reached its zenith.

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 49.

2. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 63. This seems to be a biased version of the Shi'a Ferishta against the Sunni king. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi, who was more intimately connected with the Bijapur administration, has nowhere mentioned this incident.

3. It has become a fashion to condemn him as a heretic for his pro-Hindu leanings, vide Basatinu's) Salatin, p. 275. But the epitaph on his tomb clearly showed his ~~fx~~ belief in the Sunni faith, vide Notes on the Buildings and other Antiquarian Remains, Henry Cousens. Bombay, 1890. p. 60.



### Treatment of the Hindus:-

The gulf between the conqueror and the conquered generally maintained by the Muslims of the North, completely broke down in the South.<sup>1</sup> In order to run the day to day administration, the Deccani Muslim rulers were forced to employ Hindus in large numbers. The Bahmanis of the Deccan, in order to cultivate more cordial relations with the Hindus, also married Hindu women. The policy of marrying Hindu women was started by Taju'd-din Feroz Bahmani (king from 1397-1422), who not only married the daughter of Deva Raya of Vijayanagar (1406), but took several women from the common folk as well.<sup>2</sup> The motives for such marriages were not only personal but also political. These marriages did tend in a great measure to soften the estrangement between the conqueror and the conquered. This practice of Taju'd-din Feroz Bahmani was continued by his successors and even on the dismemberment of the parent Bahmani kingdom, its 'children' states including Bijapur, thought it profitable to continue it.

The founder of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty, Yusuf 'Adil Khan married the sister of Mukand Rao Maratha, an important noble of Mahmud Shah Bahmani and she gave birth to three daughters and one son, Isma'il 'Adil Khan, his future successor.<sup>3</sup> The

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1. For details, see the chapter on the Army.

2. The Bahmanis of the Deccan, H.K. Sherwani. Haidarabad, 1953. p.144.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs). vol.2, pp.23-24.



mother of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was also Hindu.<sup>1</sup> Dasu Pandit, the Majmu'adar,<sup>2</sup> gave his daughter in marriage to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.<sup>3</sup> Savantra Rao Naikwari gave his daughter in marriage to prince Isma'il, the younger brother of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, in order to incite the prince against the Shah in the hope of himself becoming the king-maker.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to the paucity of relevant data, it is not possible to know the extent of influence exercised by these women in the daily administration of the state, but there is no denying the fact that these Hindu women were treated on par with the Muslim queens and their children were equally eligible for succession. These marriages also did contribute to the state policy of liberality towards the Hindus. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I was the first ruler of this dynasty to replace Persian with Hindi as the state language.<sup>5</sup> It is unlikely that Hindi in the narrow sense of the term was really the vernacular in Bijapur at that time. According to James Grant Duff,<sup>6</sup> the word Hindi here implies Marathi - the vernacular of Bijapur at that time and this seems to be correct. Though Marathi was substituted for Persian, yet documents of importance were written in both languages. This circumstance necessitated

1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. f. 86a. It is not possible to know her antecedents.

2. For Majmu'adar, see chapter V.

3. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, op.cit. f. 116b.

4. Ibid. f. 127b.

5. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 49.

6. History of the Mahrattas, vol. 1, London, 1878. p. 63.



the employment of Brahamans on a large scale in the administration. The Shah usually preferred the Hindus <sup>to</sup> ~~over~~ the Pardesis<sup>1</sup> in matters of state services.<sup>2</sup> 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was greatly interested in the Hindu priests and Sanyasis<sup>3</sup> and Sadhus of Natha School seem to have had influence at his court.<sup>4</sup>

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi has alleged that under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, Hindu tributary rajas were forced to pay Jizya and peshkash<sup>5</sup>, but has cited no authority in support of his contention. This assertion, however, does not mean that the Jizya was imposed on the Hindu subjects of the Shah in his kingdom. This statement, if true, aimed at over-awing the refractory tributary rajas with the might of the Shah and ultimately that of Islam, as the author has designated them as Muti'u'l-Islam. The contemporary writers have said nothing on this topic and our irresistible conclusion is that this information, had nothing to do with the Shah's Hindu subjects.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was the most liberal of all the 'Adil Shahs. He was greatly interested in Hindu mythology and religious<sup>u</sup> beliefs and earned a name for his devotion to the Hindu Gods and Goddesses, the chief among them being

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1. For Pardesis, see chapter III.
  2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 49.
  3. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 95b.
  4. B.G. Gyani, "Kitab i Nauras", Islamic Culture, April, 1945, p. 140. The Natha School was initiated by Matsyendranatha in C, 10th century A.D. According to tradition, there were 84 Natha ascetics. This was an heterodox sect and its members led nomadic lives. They criticised the traditional beliefs of the Hindus and do not at all worship idols. For details, see Gorakhnath and the Kanpatha Yogis, G.W. Briggs. OUP 1938.
  5. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 136-37.



Ganapati, the Goddess of wisdom and intellect and Saraswati, the Goddess of learning and knowledge, in whose praise we find him singing in his Kitab i Nauras.<sup>1</sup> His great interest in Hinduism gained him the appellation of Jagat Guru<sup>2</sup> - the World Preceptor and he was also honoured with the title of Abalabali<sup>3</sup> - the Protector of the Weak. These epithets show Hindu influence on him. It was this spirit of magnanimity towards the Hindus that was responsible for the production of artistic and literary works of uncommon interest, the most conspicuous example being the symbolic picture of a Ragini painted in the years 1590-1600 at Bijapur and now in the National Museum, New Delhi.<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II fully shared the culture and dress of his subjects, vide his portrait<sup>5</sup> wearing a long veil (orhni) drawn about 1620.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the portrait of Muhammad 'Adil Shah in the Indian dress with a turban on, drawn about 1640, conveys the same impression.<sup>6</sup>

Sir J.N.Sarkar has alleged that under Muhammad 'Adil Shah,

1. B.G. Gyani, "Kitab i Nauras". Islamic Culture, April, 1945.
2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 279.
3. Muhammad Isma'il, "The epithet used on copper coins by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur". JASB N.S. 18(1922) pp. 36-38.
4. Also reproduced in Douglas Barrett's Paintings of the Deccan Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century, plate 3. London, 1958.
5. BM Miniature Paintings, 1937-4-10-02.
6. Ibid. 1937-4-10-04.



the Hindus were badly treated<sup>1</sup> and according to Faruki<sup>2</sup>, they were forced to pay the humiliating tax known as Jizya. Both of them have cited no instance to support their assertion, but from the trend of the arguments, it appears that they base it on a paragraph of the lengthy Dasturu'l-'amal of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, already discussed. It is self-evident that a Dasturu'l-'amal is a manual of duties expected to be performed and not actually performed by the ruler. It is for the historian to judge whether they were performed in fact or not and with what success. To accept a Dasturu'l-'amal as a definite evidence of actual practice and not merely an ideal to be followed is very dangerous.<sup>3</sup> Students of the Muslim history of India are fully aware of the fact that the Muslim historians usually praise their heroes by calling them idol-breakers, enemies of the Pagans etc., though in their actual course of conduct, these rulers did not behave like that. Similarly every devout Muslim ruler was expected to levy Jizya on the Hindus, but whether he actually imposed it, is a matter to be proved by actual evidence. As a matter of fact, there is no mention in the contemporary literature that the Jizya was ever imposed upon the non-Muslims by Muhammad 'Adil Shah. It is strange that both Sarkar and Faruki did not study the

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1. History of Aurangzeb. vol. 4. Calcutta, 1919. p. 130.

2. Zahiru'd-din Faruki, Aurangzeb and His Times. Bombay, 1935. p. 154.

3. The Dasturu'l-'amal, though faithfully depicts the administrative practices of the state as already discussed on pp. 51-53, seems to be erring on the side of exaggeration, when it discusses the imposition of Jizya.



famous instances of tolerance and magnanimous treatment towards the Brahmans and Mahajians by the Shah in the same document.<sup>1</sup> An epigraphical source ( a bilingual inscription written in Persian and Marathi does refute both of these writers.<sup>2</sup>

Dabhol was an important 'Adil Shahi port. According to a custom prevailing in that place, the property of every person was confiscated by the king, if he died without leaving a son.<sup>3</sup> This practice had caused a great hardship and <sup>on</sup> a petition made to Muhammad 'Adil Shah was stopped in 1651. The object of this royal order was particularly to benefit the rich Hindu community, as would appear by a reference to that inscription, fixed in front of the main entrance of the Amin Dargah at Bijapur.

It is strange that this act of great favour on the part of Muhammad 'Adil Shah towards the Hindus has never been mentioned by any contemporary Muslim historian. Perhaps this signifies their disapproval of the Shah's conduct.

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi has, in fact, added to the confusion by another assertion.<sup>4</sup> While not at all letting us know,

1. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 338-39.

The assertion of Tarikh i Deccan, vol. 3. Agra, 1903, p. 540, that the order of Muhammad 'Adil Shah imposing Jizya on the Hindus was merely on paper and was never carried out seriously, seems to be correct.

2. M. Nazim, "An inscription from Dabhol", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica 1933-34. pp 9-10.

3. The older Hindu law would support this practice, since a woman cannot own property, vide Evolution of Ancient Indian Law, N.C. ~~Sen~~ Sen Gupta. Calcutta, 1953. p. 181.

4. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 394-95.



whether Jizya was ever imposed by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II upon his Hindu Subjects, he has again come forth with the pronounce-  
-ment that Raja ~~Bed~~ Bhadra Naik, the Zamindar of Bednur, on his submission to the Shah, had undertaken to pay him tribute and Jizya every year. This is a sweeping statement and the author has cited no evidence in support of his contention. The very idea of Jizya runs counter to the spirit of which these rulers were the advocate<sup>3</sup>. It seems, he has confused the word Jizya with the words Baj and Khiraj (Baj and Khiraj both means tribute) and is a sheer platitude.

### Section III.

### The kingdom of Golconda.

#### Titles:-

The first three rulers of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty, Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and Subhan Quli did not assume royal titles. The official Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi mentions the second ruler without any royal titles at one place<sup>1</sup>, but on another<sup>2</sup>, it did call him Shah to the effect:-

پادشاه علم بر سر تخت سپاه المومنین است انوار اللہ محمد قلی الملک

King with Jamshid's throne, whose army is like that of Alexander, aided by the blessings of God, Jamshid Qutbu'l-Mul<sup>K</sup>

1. BM MS Add 6542, ff. 17b

2. Ibid. f. 77a.



This appears to be merely a courtesy title of Padshah prefixed to the same, as the title Qutbu'l-Mulk signified a chief or a grandee. The very fact that the crown was offered to Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, (1509-43) and was refused by the former,<sup>1</sup> shows that he had no pretensions to kingship and the almost continuous battles he had to fight for five years out of his total rule of seven years must have made him very uncertain of his own position. Naql i Jamshid Khan, another history of this ruler, never called him Shah anywhere.<sup>2</sup>

Ibrahim Qutb Shah, 1550-80, was the first ruler to assume high-sounding royal titles.

3  
 پادشاه عالیجاه سلطنت بنیاد خلافت دستگاه گردون اجنباء ظل الله خادم اہل بیت رسول اللہ  
 السلطان ابن سلطان بجاویں اعظم ابراہیم قطب شاہ

His Exalted Majesty, the Refuge of administration, whose court is like that of the Caliph, the Choice of heaven, the Shadow of God, the Servant of the family of Muhammad, the Sultan son of a Sultan, the Auspicious the Great, Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Another inscription of Ibrahim Qutb Shah showing his royal titles<sup>4</sup>

(its text is on p.66a and the English translation on p.67).

1. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542. f.80a.
2. Naql i Jamshid Khan, for its description see p.295.
3. G.Yazdani, "A Qutb Shahi Inscription from Patancheru, Medak District, Hyderabad". Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1935-36. p.61.
4. G.Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda Fort". Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1913-14. pp.48-49.



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَ كَلِمَةَ تَوْحِيدِهِ حَصَنًا وَحَصِينًا وَ  
 أَصَابِنَا فَتَحَ أَبْوَابَهُ بِالرَّحْمَةِ قَبْلَ دُخُلِهِ كَانَ آمِنًا وَالْقَلْوَةَ  
 عَلَى الْمُطِغْنِيِّ الَّذِي تَمَتَّتَ بِهِ حَصُونُ النُّبُوَّةِ وَشُعَابُهَا وَهُوَ  
 مَدِينَةُ الْعَالَمِ وَعَلَى بَابِهَا وَعَلَى آلِهِ الَّتِي أَرْتَفَعَتْ  
 بِهِمْ بَرُوجُ الْوِلَايَةِ وَالْإِمَامَةِ وَاصْحَابُهُ الْفَارُجِينَ  
 لِنَهَالِ الصِّدْقِ وَالسَّلَامَةِ وَبَعْدَ فَهَذَا دَرْجُ الدَّوْلَةِ وَحَصْنُ  
 السَّعَادَةِ قَدْ بَنَى فِي أَيَّامِ مُلْكِهِ أَكْثَرُ السَّلَاطِينِ  
 أَكْرَمَ الْحَوَاقِينِ فَهَذَا أَمَانُ الْمَاءِ وَالطِّينِ فَاتَّحَ  
 أَبْوَابُ الْبَرَكَةِ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ رَافِعَ سَنَادِ الشَّرِيعَةِ  
 سَيِّدَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ مَعَارِزَ الدَّوْلَةِ وَالرَّبِيبَ تَلَّ اللَّهُ فِي  
 الْأَرْضِينَ مَعِي خَلِيلَ اللَّهِ هَمَائِيُونَ أَكْثَرُ قُطْبِ شَاةٍ  
 لَا زَالَ حَصُونِ دَوْلَتِهِ مَحْفُوظَةٌ عَنِ التَّرَزُّولِ وَبَرُوجُ  
 خِلَافَتِهِ عَنِ وَهْمَةِ التَّغْيِيرِ وَالْقَبُولِ بِمُسَاعِي  
 جَمِيلَةٍ دَكَّتْ دَوَائِدُ الْقَاهِرَةِ وَعِمَادُ سُلْطَانَتِهِ  
 أَلْبَاهِرَةُ جَامِعُ الْكُتُبِ وَمَعْرِقُ الْكُتَائِبِ الَّذِي يُؤْتِلُ  
 جَمِيعًا وَنَسِيًا إِلَى حُظُومِ الْعَجَائِبِ الْمُسَمَّى فِي الْبَيْتِ  
 بِكَمَالِ الدِّينِ حُسَيْنٍ وَالْمُخَاطَبِ لِعَلْوِ الشُّرَافِ  
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ قَانٍ شَكَرَ لَهُ مُسَاعِيدهُ وَيُسَرُّ دَوَائِدهُ فِي  
 شَهْرِ سَنَةِ 967 هـ وَكَتَبَهُ مُحَمَّدُ أَهْمَرِي



Greatest of the Sultans and noblest of the Khagans, who is the protector of water and clay (i.e., sea and land), the opener of the gates of benevolence to all creatures, the elevator of the edifice of the Shai'a of the leader of apostles, the architect of state and religion, the Shadow of God in the worlds, the namesake of the Friend of God (the Prophet Abraham), the Auspicious the Great Qutb Shah.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah:-1580-1612.

I

عالی حضرت پیاوین سلیمان ظل سبحانی المومنین بنائید اللہ خادم اہل بیت رسول اللہ محمد علی قطب شاہ

Exalted Threshold, auspicious Solomon, Shadow of God, aided by God, servant of the family of Muhammad, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.

II

عالی حضرت سلطنت و شہت پناہ نصفت و محبت دشتگاه خادم اہل بیت رسول اللہ محمد علی قطب شاہ

Exalted Threshold, Refuge of glory, whose court is based on justice and equity, servant of the family of Muhammad, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.

Muhammad Qutb Shah:-1612-26.

III

خاقان کشورستان شہنشاہ قضاقرمان در در انماہ درج شہزادہ آفتاب مذکرت و  
جہانگیری پادشاہ فداکار پناہ الوالمظفر الوالمنصور سلطان محمد قطب شاہ

1. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9998, f.128a.

2. Ibid. f.150a.

3. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahiya, BM Ms Add 6542, f.139a.



Khaqan, the conqueror of countries, King of kings with finality in his verdicts, the priceless pearl in the casket of royalty, sun of the firmament of power and governing the world, king, Refuge of the people, father of the victorious and of the successful, Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah.

In the official Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, Muhammad Qutb Shah is mentioned as Shadow of God repeatedly.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad Qutb Shah wrote in 1616, a lengthy introductory poem to the Kulliyat of his uncle Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and used Zil i Ilahi (Shadow of God) as his nom de plume.<sup>2</sup>

Muhammad 'Abdullah Qutb Shah:-1626-72.

III  
پادشاه جم جہ ملائک سپاہ سلطان عبداللہ قطب شاہ  
King equal in rank to Jamshid, whose army consists of angels,  
Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.

IV  
III  
خسروئے زمان شہنشاہ دوران السلطان عادل ظل اللہ الوہاب مظفر الوہابی سلطان  
عبداللہ قطب شاہ 1666 AD  
Khusrau of the age and the Emperor of the times, just Sultan,  
Shadow of God, father of the victorious and of the successful,  
Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.

Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah:-1672-87.

He is designated Sultan in ~~his~~ his official records

1. BM Ms Add 6542, ff. 169a, 179a, 184b, 186a&b, 187a&189a.
2. Kulliyat i Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, ed. Sayyid Muhyu'd-din Qadri Zor. Hyderabad, 1940. p. 14-15. (Deccani Urdu).  
مجید یوئے ظل الہی نزل - پڑھتا پڑھتا کرم و فضل + تو اسے فتح قطب کوں ظل اللہ - کیے سنگ علی ولی تھے پناہ
3. G. Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda fort". Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica. 1913-14. p. 57.
4. Ibid. p. 52.



everywhere<sup>1</sup>, though actually he was a tributary of the Mughals. In one of his Farmans (dated 1684), he also called himself Zil i Ilahi<sup>2</sup>.

A noteworthy feature of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty is that all of its rulers were Shi'a. Those amongst them who were very orthodox in their beliefs, were distinguished by being called the Servant of the family of the Prophet of God. It is important to note that everyone of them called himself Sultan - a title usually borne by the Sunni kings. It is true, the ~~Safavids~~ Safavids also called themselves Sultan on their coins<sup>3</sup>, but in their official records (Farmans), they were known by the title of Shah.

A perusal of these titles shows that from the fourth ruler (Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah) onwards, every ruler called himself Zil i Ilahi - the grandest of all titles<sup>4</sup>. Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah - a contemporary of Akbar seems to have borrowed this title from the latter, who used it towards the end of his reign, and then all his successors clung to it and used it when politically necessary. The Mughals considered this title as their birthright, and would not recognise its usage by any other ruler of India. The reason why some of the Qutb Shahs

1. see Farmans on pp.51,52-53,55. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica 1917-18.

2. W.Elliot Collection, I.O.Mss Eur.F.50. Farman 49, p.69.

3. R.S.Poole, Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum. Index p.313. London, 1887.

4. These pretensions were never recognised by the Mughals, who always addressed them as Qutbu'l-Mulk and never Qutb Shah in the official despatches. They were sometimes contemptuously designated as time-servers or hypocrites (دنیاداران) and such indignities were quietly pocketed by them.



were allowed to use this title, is not far to seek. The Mughals became a potent factor in the Deccan only after 1636. Before this date, the Qutb Shahs enjoyed this title unhindered by anybody and occasionally used to cajole the Mughals by sending some presents. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was the first ruler of this dynasty to please Akbar with a gift of thirty richly cap<sup>r</sup>isoned elephants and other curios from his realm<sup>1</sup>. But after 1636, the position underwent a great change. Golconda was reduced to a tributary of the Mughals and it meant sheer impertinence, if the former exceeded in its claims to royal status. In 1666, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah did claim Zil i Ilahi as his title, but this claim was made at a time, when he was in open rebellion against the Mughals. He was being so hard pressed by them that it was widely feared that his dynasty might be extinguished altogether and it was at that time, to hearten his followers, that he adopted this lofty title in utter desperation. Similarly when the throne of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah was tottering in 1684, it was only to encourage his supporters that he called himself Zil i Ilahi. Thus we find that after 1636, the rulers of Golconda assumed this title only, when they were in a critical position, but in normal times they did not dare to do so.

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1. Akbar Nama, Abu'l-Fazl; ed. Maulvi 'Abdu'r-Rahim. Calcutta, 1886. vol. 3. p. 838.



A study of the epitaphs on the tombs of the rulers of Golconda discloses the ambition of the Qutb Shahi rulers to use the same titles for their deceased forefathers as were used by the contemporary Mughal Emperors. On the tomb of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (died 1612), we find the titles of Janat Makani 'arsh Ashyani<sup>1</sup> (whose abode is in paradise and whose <sup>seat</sup> is in heaven). These titles had already been used for Humayun (died in 1556) and Akbar (died in 1605). After Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the titles of Janat Makani<sup>2</sup> and Janat Makan<sup>3</sup> are also found on the tombs of his successors Muhammad Qutb Shah and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. The last ruler Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah died as a captive of ~~the~~ the Mughals and hence the question of any grand epitaph on his tomb never ~~ar~~ arose.

It is interesting to observe that amongst the names of the five rulers, Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, Subhan Quli, Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the title Quli (which literally means slave) is always visible, but in the names of the last three rulers, Muhammad Qutb Shah, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah, it is conspicuous by its absence. The contemporary writers have given no reason for this abrupt change from the

1. T. W. Haig, "Inscriptions in Hyderabad and Golconda - Epitaphs on the Golconda tombs". Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1907-8. p. 31.

2. Ibid. p. 32.

3. Ibid. p. 26.



reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah onwards, but it is possible to explain it:-

The first four successors of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk succeeded to kingship on the death of their respective fathers and each continued to append Quli, a part of his father's name, to his titles. But Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the 5th successor, died without a male issue and the throne passed to his younger brother, Muhammad Amin's son prince Muhammad; the latter on becoming king could not attach Quli to his name, as otherwise there would have been no difference in names between him and his predecessor Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Moreover, his father's name was Muhammad Amin and not Muhammad Amin Quli. That is why, he discarded Quli from his titles altogether. The mother of Muhammad Qutb Shah was Khanam Agha - a Sayyida, daughter of Mir Maqsud 'Ali son of Sayyid 'Alau'd-din Tabatabai and claimed to be from the 24th generation of the 7th Imam Musa Kazim.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, to distinguish himself from his predecessors as being the son of a Sayyida, Muhammad Qutb Shah deleted Quli from his titles. His successors following in his footsteps, never appended Quli to their names.

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1. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. Lith, Haidarabad, 1892. vol. I, p. 264.



The colour of the Qutb Shahi flag was sky-blue throughout the existence of this dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

Origin of the title of Shah:-

The institution of the Shah owes its origin in Golconda to Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, who started his political career as the Tarafdar of Golconda. The growing decline of the Bahmani kingdom afforded him opportunities to assume independence and then he extended the boundaries of his province till he occupied the whole of Talingana. He did not assume the title of Shah for the reasons already explained in chapter I. The first five years of his successor Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk were so occupied with the struggle for survival and his last two years with the struggle against ill-health, that he was in no position to make any claim to the title of Shah. He appeared to have lost interest in state business and to have placed Sayyid Kamalu'd-din Ardistani solely in charge of it.<sup>2</sup> His successor Subhan Quli could not assume the title of Shah as a minor and had to depend upon the Regent in all matters of the state.

Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah is unique in the history of ~~Tilingana~~<sup>Shah</sup>. He was called unanimously by his contemporaries; he was also the first ruler of this dynasty known to have claimed the title of Shah on his coins,<sup>3</sup> and to have been given

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol. 2, p. 335 and Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, ed. Sir W. Haig, vol. 3, p. 378. Calcutta, 1925.

2. Naql i Jamshid Khan, . Halle. f. 29b.

3. The coins of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, May 1955 in the Numismatic -tic circular of M/s Spink & Co. London.



a royal title on his tomb-stone. Thus the institution of Shah dates from him.<sup>1</sup>

#### Problems of Succession:-

These problems have always been very troublesome in the whole history of Islam and the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty provides no exception. It was usual for the reigning ruler of Golconda to nominate at will one of his sons as his successor, whether the eldest or another. But whether the nominee would ultimately succeed in gaining the throne, actually depended upon his personal accomplishments and the extent of the support of the nobility. Every contestant, to achieve his object, was ready to adopt any means, fair or foul.

Out of the seven rulers of this dynasty, excluding of course its founder, only two, namely Subhan Quli, a minor, and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah succeeded according to the rule of primogeniture - and Subhan Quli was an only son. Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, the founder, had nominated his eldest son Malikzada Qutbu'd-din as his successor and had persuaded his nobles to support him. His second son Jamshid would not tolerate this and, immediately on the death of his father, incapacitated the elder brother for the throne by blinding him, overawed the opposing factions and succeeded in becoming the next ruler.<sup>2</sup> Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk wanted to make the

1. In the theological and mystical sense, Qutb means the holiest of the saints and the title Qutb Shah thus stood for piety and nobility of character.

2. Naql i Jamshid Khan, .Halle.f.1a.



succession of his the only son Subhan Quli quite safe, but he feared that his younger brothers Haidar Quli and Ibrahim Quli might be contestants. He was contemplating executing or incapacitating them when the secret leaked out and both the brothers fled, Haidar Quli died during his wanderings and Ibrahim Quli sought refuge in Vijayanagar.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, his premier nobles Mustafa Khan Ardistani and Salabat Khan Turk installed in deference to the deceased ruler's will, his minor son Subhan Quli on the throne,<sup>2</sup> but as this arrangement did not prove successful, they deposed him, invited Ibrahim Quli, the youngest and the only surviving brother of Jamshid Quli, from Vijayanagar and made him the ruler of Golconda.<sup>3</sup>

Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah had six sons, but he nominated the third, Muhammad Quli, as his successor.<sup>4</sup> Ferishta<sup>5</sup> and Khafi Khan<sup>6</sup> eulogised Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah as the only king in the whole chequered history of Islam to have afforded an example of affection for his brothers, and state that during his ~~xxx~~ thirty years' rule, there is no instance on record of his ever censuring his brothers on any account.

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 333.

2. Ibid. vol. 2, p. 334.

3. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9997, f. 57a.

4. Ibid. f. 61a.

5. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 341.

6. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, ed. Sir W. Haig, vol. 3, p. 383. Calcutta, 1925.



But the official Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi tells a different tale.<sup>1</sup> The eldest brother ~~known~~ 'Abdu'l-Qadir commonly known as Shah Sahib died in jail during the life-time of his father.<sup>2</sup> The second, Husain Quli Mirza, twenty years old at the death of his father and a learned man of the age, once went for an outing in the country in the company of the king Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, suddenly thought of bathing in the river and was drowned; the details are not given.<sup>3</sup> The third was Muhammad Quli, who had become the king. The fourth, Mirza 'Abdu'l-Fattah, 17 at the time of his father's death and matchless in the recitation of the Qur'an, died at the age of 28; the cause of his death is not explained. The fifth, Mirza Muhammad Khuda Banda, the king's brother from the same mother, rebelled against his brother, was imprisoned and died in jail. The sixth, Muhammad Mubin Mirza, nine years old at the death of his father, also died in his reign mysteriously and no reason is given for his early death.

The official historian could not openly criticise

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1. BM Ms Add 6542, the discussion based on ff. 137b-138a.
  2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 336, he was poisoned by the father Ibrahim Quli on suspicions of treachery.
  3. The circumstance, which greatly facilitated the accession of Muhammad Quli was the absence of Shah Mir Tabatabai, the most powerful noble of Ibrahim Quli, from the capital. This amir had betrothed his daughter with Husain Quli Mirza, the eldest surviving prince and could not have tolerated the accession of any other prince. At that time, the amir was leading an expedition against the Bijapuri fort of Naldurg and when the news of the Shah's death and the accession of Muhammad Quli was conveyed to him, he became very much upset, but was helpless. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9998, f. 62a.



Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah even if he had been responsible for deaths of his brothers, but by subtle <sup>~</sup>h<sub>i</sub>f<sub>t</sub>s, he has cast suspicions on him. The reason why Ferishta and Khafi Khan suppressed these facts and unduly praised him are not far to seek. Both were Shi'a and seem to have been greatly pleased with the bigoted Shi'ism of their hero. According to them, Muhammad Quli was the eldest son and therefore, the rightful heir.<sup>1</sup> But the official Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi - the more reliable in this respect - contradicts this.

This is further corroborated by the explicit assertions of Muhammad Quli in his Kulliyat that though he was not the eldest son, yet it was his unflinching loyalty to the Twelve Imams that had won him the throne.<sup>2</sup>

A perusal of Kulliyat i Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah discloses the author to be the gayest of all the Qutb Shahs. It was only when his accession to the throne was disputed that he lost his balance and became at all anxious about his position.<sup>3</sup> Even the wars against Bijapur and Ahmadnagar did not distract him so much as a challenge to his kingship, as in the former case, the worst that could be expected was the loss of some territory, but in the latter, he might lose not only the throne

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2, p. 338 and Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, vol. 3, p. 383.

2. Kulliyat i Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, ed. Muhyu'd-din Zor, Haidarabad, 1940. pt. 2, Ghazals, p. 6, 5th verse; 6th poem on the 'id i Ghadir, p. 82, 1st verse. 8th poem on Baqr 'id, p. 124, 3rd verse. poem on Shab i M'iraj, p. 52, last verse. poem on Sha'ir ka Mazhab, p. 31, 3rd verse.

3. Ibid. 2nd poem on Barsat, pp. 191-92. 9th poem on sarma, p. 194.



but also his life. In his reign, two unsuccessful attempts were made to oust him, the first<sup>1</sup> was in the name of his elder brother 'Abdu'l-Qadir alias Shah Sahib, dead but supposed to be alive, on the plea that in the lifetime of the elder brother, the younger brother has no right of succession. The second was due to the disappointment of Mirza Khuda Banda his younger brother on learning that the next successor would be prince Muhammad, the son-in-law and nephew of the king and not he. The grandees Amur Khan and 'Abdu'l-Karim had the blessings of the mystic Shah Raju, whose disciples also participated in the rebellion. The main cause of the rebellion was the resentment of the Sunni nobles against the Shi'ism of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.<sup>2</sup> Both these rebellions were ultimately crushed and the poems composed on these occasions expressed Muhammad Quli's joy on conquering the rivals. The succession of Muhammad Qutb Shah was accomplished peacefully. The assertion of the official Hadiquatu's-Salatin, that Muhammad Qutb Shah nominated 'Abdullah, his eldest son for succession,<sup>3</sup> does not seem to be in accordance with the facts. At the very birth of ~~the~~ prince 'Abdullah,

1. Hadiquatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. Lith. Haidarabad. vol. 1, pp. 229-31. 1892.

2. Ibid. vol. 1, pp. 251-52.

3. Hadiquatu's-Salatin, Mirza Nizamu'd-din's-Sa'idu'shirazi. ed. Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrami. Haidarabad, 1931. vol. 1, p. 5.



the Shah was dissuaded by the astrologers from seeing the prince, before the latter was twelve years old and it was forecast that at that time, some calamity was to visit the Shah.<sup>1</sup> That is why Muhammad Qutb Shah hated prince 'Abdullah and nominated instead the eldest son of prince Khuda Banda, the younger brother of Muhammad Quli. This nomination was nullified on the death of Muhammad Qutb Shah through the vigorous efforts of the Queen-Mother Hayat Bakhsh Begum, whose <sup>son</sup> 'Abdullah became the Shah, putting to torture all rivals to kingship.<sup>2</sup> The supporters of Mirza Khuda Banda were utterly annihilated as is clearly admitted by the official Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi. 'Abdullah Qutb Shah had no male issue and the claimants to his succession were the sons-in-law, Sayyid Ahmad and Abu'l-Hasan.<sup>3</sup> The nobles installed Abu'l-Hasan, the husband of his youngest daughter, to the throne. The accession of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah afforded interesting testimony to the power of the nobles.<sup>4</sup> He is said to have been descended from the royal family and was the

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1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol. 3, pp. 391-92.

2. Ibid.

3. Another possible claimant to succession was prince Sultan Muhammad son of Aurangzeb, who had married the daughter of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah by the Treaty of 1656. At that time, the prince was in jail and the Emperor did not press his claim. Therefore, he was automatically excluded.

4. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. op. cit. vol. 3, pp. 408-9.



distant relation of Hayat Bakhsh Begum and nothing is known to us about his early life.<sup>1</sup> He, on his accession, immediately incapacitated Sayyid Ahmad, his rival and the elder son-in-law of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.<sup>2</sup>

To summarise the main conclusions of the foregoing discussion, the question of succession was complicated because of the absence of a law of succession. Primogeniture, though usually favoured by the Muslims, was not regarded as binding either on the king or on his nobles. The king's nomination of his successor, not necessarily the eldest son, was always subject to ratification by the nobility.

What distinguishes the succession problems of Golconda from those of the Mughals and the 'Adil Shahs is the fact that the Qutb Shahs were not prolific in producing sons whose rivalries might create a potentially explosive situation on the death of their father. Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk<sup>3</sup> and Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah had six sons each and these, as we have seen, did create serious threats to law and order. The refusal of Muhammad Qutb Shah to nominate 'Abdullah as his successor and this (intended) supersession of 'Abdullah by the eldest son of

1. Tarikh i Rashidu'd-din Khani, Muhammad Ghulam Imam Khan Hijr. Lith. 'Aligarh. 1862. p. 230 and the article of 'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi, "Character and personality of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah". The Hyderabad Academy Series No. 1, 1939.
2. Tarikh i Zafrah, Girdhari Lal Ahqar. Gorakhpur, 1927. p. 34.
3. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f. 76a.



prince Khuda Banda was an invitation to anarchy, which situation was cleverly handled by Hayat Bakhsh Begum for the benefit of her son 'Abdullah. The rest of the Qutb Shahs usually left one son (like Jamshid Quli's son Subhan Quli) or no male issue at all, and in the latter case, the situation became very serious. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah had no male issue and the throne passed to their sons in law respectively. This selection of the successor by the nobles, in fact made them the king-makers and consequently they became the ~~xx~~ sole determining factor in such struggles, fully in a position to dictate terms to the various contestants.

#### The Shah and Religion:-

Hindus formed the bulk of the population of the Golconda kingdom and the religious freedom accorded to them was a distinctive feature of the policy of the Qutb Shahs. There is no evidence of mass conversions of the Hindus to Islam and the Jizya was unheard of in this realm.

All the Qutb Shahs professed the Shi'a creed and the first three rulers, Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah left religious affairs to the free conscience of their subjects. Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah was, however, the most liberal and cosmopolitan of all the Qutb Shahs in his religious views. It seems that



his seven years' stay in Vijayanagar had greatly interested him in Hindu philosophy and Telugu literature ; hence he preferred the promotion of inter-communal harmony to imposing Shi'ism on his subjects. The welcome<sup>1</sup> he received on his return to Golconda from Vijayanagar as a king, showed how popular he was even with the lower strata of Hindu society, such as barbers, carpenters etc. This atmosphere of communal harmony was rudely and permanently shaken by his successors, from Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and onwards, who made Shi'ism a state religion and fully utilised the resources of the government for its glorification.

Shi'ism in Golconda - the state religion - on which the Qutb Shahs have earned fame from the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and onwards, has been dealt with very meagrely by modern historians. Its history may be studied in detail with the help of a source not hitherto utilised, Kulliyat i Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah containing 50,000 verses in Deccani Urdu. As a staunch Shi'a, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was intolerant of the Sunnis and his hatred against them becomes manifest from a study of the Kulliyat. They are nicknamed as Kharjiites and Kafirs.<sup>2</sup> Muharram, 'Id i Ghadir, 'Id i Milad i 'Ali,

1. Report Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1928-29, pp. 21-24.

2. Kulliyat i Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, ed. Muhyu'd-din Qadri Zor. Haidarabad, 1940.

Qasida on 'Id i Milad i Nabi, 4th verse.

سنی مافرت بت خانے ٹوٹے ہیں اس گھڑی سب سو سحر تو خراج کون یہ بیت گڑبڑ کا



'Id i Ba'sat i Nabi and 'Id i Suri, which only the Shi'a celebrate, were officially sponsored by the state under Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and their expenses borne by the government treasury.

Muharram:-

As soon as the moon for the month of Muharram became visible, all rejoicings were banned by the state throughout the kingdom, music, dancing in public, the sale of intoxicants and even the sale of meat were banned. Thus strict austerity was enforced in the kingdom and had to be obeyed by Hindus and Muslims alike. From the royal wardrobe were distributed about forty thousand flags with green and black staffs and black suit of clothes.<sup>1</sup> Public kitchens for free meals during the mourning period alone used to cost 60,000 Huns to the state per annum.<sup>2</sup>

In order to make the non-Shi'a take a lively interest in Muharram, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah introduced some interesting ceremonies. From the night of the 6th Muharram onwards, a magnificent scene was arranged under the auspices of the Kotwal in the vast plain facing the Dad Mahal. Coffins and Ta'ziyas decorated with the best type of engravings were brought here every night and illuminated with coloured lights and the place was overcrowded ~~xx~~ with mourners. Then the king used to send pieces of bread to all the ~~xxxx~~ mourners.

1. Ma'asir i Qutb Shahi Mahmudi, Mahmud bin 'Abdullah Nishapuri. I.O.Ms 841, ff.88b-89a.

2. Ibid. f.89a.



At midnight, the congregation would disperse with a recitation of the Fatiha for the martyrs of Karbala and a prayer for the long life of the king.- both conducted by the Kotwal.

On the 7th Muharram, the king used to hold Public Audience in the Nadi Mahal, which was attended by the high-ranking officials and ambassadors - all standing in mourning dress. The common folk among the Hindus and Muslims were also permitted to attend this meeting. A feature of all these gatherings was that they ended with a prayer for the long life of the king.

When the days of mourning were over, twelve thousand Huns were distributed amongst the poor as zar i 'ashuri<sup>1</sup> and also a large sum of money was sent every year to Karbala and Najf for charitable purposes.

Orders were circulated throughout the kingdom calling upon the officers in charge of the ports, forts and towns to participate in the Muharram celebrations and debit the expenses of the flag processions and demonstrations to the state treasury.<sup>2</sup>

#### Id i Ghadir:-

In the Kulliyat, there are eight poems of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah expressing his great joy on that day, which according

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1.Charity distributed after the Muharram was called zar i 'ashuri.

2.The whole discussion of the Muharram celebrations under Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah based on Ma'asir i Qutb Shahi Mahmudiop.cit.



to him was the day of <sup>the</sup> Khilafat of 'Ali.<sup>1</sup> He exalted this occasion by calling it 'Id i Kabir'<sup>2</sup> and looked on it as the day of mourning for the Kharjiites.<sup>3</sup> Who these Kharjiites are? In the Muslim history of the Deccan, there is no mention of the existence of the Kharjiites as a sect anywhere. As already discussed, in his poems, Muhammad Quli called the Sunnis Kharjiites and it seems, the Sunnis are referred to here. In commemoration of this festival, the Shah used to give a public feast to the Shi'a masses. This feast must have been on a grand scale accompanied by music etc., as the Shah's generosity on such occasions was famous.<sup>4</sup>

#### 'Id i Milad i 'Ali:-

In the Kulliyat, there are nine poems expressing the author's sincere devotion towards 'Ali. The poet thought that the welfare of the Shi'a community started from the very day of the birth of 'Ali.<sup>5</sup> Hence this day was an occasion for rejoicing and the Shah ordered public feasts for the Shi'a with music and dancing.

#### 'Id i Ba'sat i Nabi :-

In the Kulliyat, there are five poems expressing his great joy at this 'Id'.<sup>6</sup> Muslims usually celebrate Shab i Barat

1.eight poems on 'Id i Ghadir, pp.75-84, the relevant reference is the 6th poem, 3rd and 4th verses, p.81.

2.Ibid. 2nd poem, 1st verse.

3.Ibid. 3rd poem, 1st verse, p.77.

4.Ibid. 4th poem, 3rd verse, p.78.

5.Ibid. nine poems on pp.63-72. The relevant reference is the 1st poem, 3rd verse, p.63.

6.Ibid. pp.45-50.



'Id i Ramazan and Baqr 'Id, but Muhammad Quli boasted that he was the only king to celebrate 'Id i Ba'sat i Nabi as well, when he gave a sumptuous feast to the Shi'a.<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity of this 'Id was (according to Muhammad Quli) that it was on that day that the angel Gibrael told the Prophet Muhammad that 'Ali had been designated as his Na'ib from the very day of Creation.<sup>2</sup> That is why the Shi'a love this 'Id particularly. 'Id i Suri:-

In the Kulliyat, there are five poems of the Shah on this 'Id, which was celebrated in commemoration of the Prophet's recovery from illness.<sup>3</sup> These poems express his sincere devotion to Muhammad and 'Ali.

In addition to these five purely Shi'i functions, the Shah also used to celebrate five more religious functions, which the Sunnis also celebrate, but with this difference that in celebrating them, he would condemn the Sunnis repeatedly, as his poems in the Kulliyat clearly show. The five festivals were 'Id i Milad i Nabi, 'Id i Ramazan, Baqr 'Id, Shab i Barat and Shab i M'iraj.

A perusal of the contemporary records shows that next to Muharram, 'Id i Milad i Nabi was the function in which the

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1. Kulliyat, p.45. 1st verse to the 4th verse.

2. Ibid. p.46, 3rd verse and p.47, verses 3 and 4.

3. Ibid. pp.55-60. (five poems therein).



Shah took the greatest possible interest.<sup>1</sup> These celebrations were officially sponsored and lasted for twelve days. Long before the 17th Rabi'u'l-awwal (the Prophet's birthday), well known craftsmen and artisans used to start coming from far off places to the capital to display their skill. The whole city was beautifully decorated. The Shah's state ride on an elephant on the 9th day of the celebrations was a most impressive scene, and he was preceded by 1000 dancing girls. People would flock to the capital from far flung corners of the kingdom to witness the celebrations. Shopkeepers would spend lavishly on decorating their shops in order to gain prizes from the Shah. On the last day of the festival, the Shah used to hold a public feast to which everybody was welcome.<sup>1a</sup> On this occasion, he also used to hold Public Audience, which every commoner could attend. The whole function was wound up with prayers for the long life of the Shah. The total state expenditure incurred every year on these twelve days' celebrations was about one lakh of Huns.<sup>2</sup> The Shah's poems in his Kulliyat amply show his devotion to Muhammad<sup>3</sup>.

1. The whole discussion of the 'id i Milad i Nabi' based on ff. 175b-176b of the Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542.

1a. It can be safely presumed that it did include the Hindus.

2. At the contemporary rates of exchange, it would be £37,500.

3. pp. 35-42.



'Id i Ramazan:-

In the Kulliyat, there are eleven poems on this festival.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the moon for the month of Ramazan was in sight, all rejoicings were stopped, wine shops were closed and the sale of all other intoxicants was banned. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, himself a heavy drinker, used to abstain from wine altogether during this month and observed the fasts regularly. On the expiry of this period, the 'Id was celebrated with joy.

Baqr 'Id:-

There is no information about Baqr 'Id in the local contemporaries, but nine poems in the Kulliyat vividly display the grandeur of its celebrations.<sup>2</sup>

Shab i Barat:-

There are ten very beautiful poems in the Kulliyat concerning this festival, which display the pageantry and gorgeousness, with which the Shah used to celebrate this function.<sup>3</sup> They also mention repeatedly his indebtedness to Muhammad and 'Ali for their favours.

Shab i M'iraj:-

There is only one poem in the Kulliyat concerning this festival.<sup>4</sup> It seems that the compiler could not lay his hands

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1.pp.101-112.

2.pp.115-26.

3.pp.87-98.

4.p.52.



on the rest of the poems on this subject. This poem also displays the Shah's devotion and sincerity to the Twelve Imams and the Prophet Muhammad.

A perusal of the preceding paragraphs shows that Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah had made Shi'ism the state religion in the true sense of the word. The resources of the state were utilised to achieve this end. Not only were ~~sponsored~~ purely Shi'i functions sponsored by the state, but even those common to the Sunnis were also celebrated though in such a way that the Sunnis were often slighted, as the poems show beyond any doubt.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to our limited sources of information, it is difficult to estimate the cost of each of these functions to the state treasury, but judging from the extreme devotion and enthusiasm of the Shah expressed in his poems, one may conclude that money was spent unsparingly to make these functions a success.<sup>2</sup>

His successor Muhammad Qutb Shah was an ascetic king, who disliked the festive proceedings of his predecessor. They were all brought to an end and we hear of no more rejoicings or celebrations sponsored by the state during his reign. The heavy expenditure incurred on 'Id i Milad i Nabi' was drastically reduced and the money thus saved was distributed amongst

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1. For example, the poem on 'Id i Milad i Nabi' already noticed.  
 2. Only on Muharram and 'Id Milad i Nabi', we have the official statements of expenditure as already seen.



the learned and the destitute.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the gorgeousness of the Muharram celebrations was stopped and those of its ceremonies, which were very offensive to the Sunnis, such as tabarra, were banned.

'Abdullah Qutb Shah was a very staunch Shi'a. He was a great admirer of his maternal grandfather Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and always claimed to follow in his footsteps ~~in such manner~~. Immediately on his accession, he ordered the revival of all the Shi'a practices of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah under the official sponsorship of the state.<sup>2</sup> The festival of 'Id Milad i Nabi alone used to cost 30,000 Huns to the state everywhere.<sup>3</sup> Muharram was revived with all its splendour and particularly the practices obnoxious to the Sunnis, for example, tabarra, were not forgotten.<sup>4</sup> All non-Muslims also participated in its celebrations. However, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah could not express his Shi'i fanaticism for long. His activities were strongly objected to by Shah Jahan, who in 1636 reduced him to be a tributary of the Mughals.

After 1636, his independent role as a Shi'a ruler was gone for

1. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542.f.221.

2. Ibid. f.222b.

3. Ibid. f.225b.

4. 'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi's assertion in his History of Golconda Haidarabad, 1956, p.346 that under 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Sunnis were not offended in any way, is incorrect. It seems, the author never studied Hadiqatu's-Salatin, the official history of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, which refutes his assertion repeatedly.



good, but the Muharram celebrations - a prominent feature of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty continued, minus of course its practices obnoxious to the Sunnis, but 'Abdullah Qutb Shah's powerlessness can be gauged from the fact that in 1662, some Sunni fanatics hurled stones on a Muharram procession in Golconda and he could take no action against them, but merely reported to the Mughal agent for necessary action.<sup>1</sup>

Largely through the initiative of the Qutb Shahs, the celebration of Muharram became so much ingrained amongst the populace, Hindus and Muslims alike, that even in the present times, it is celebrated by them.

#### The Shah a "National" Ruler:-

The most interesting feature of the Qutb Shahi rule is the identification of the ruler with the ruled. They never regarded themselves as alien conquerors, superior to the people over whom they held sway.<sup>2</sup> Hindus - the bulk of the population received magnanimous treatment from them. This policy was started by the Bahmanis and was followed faithfully by the Qutb Shahs. Their own marriages with the Hindu women further contributed towards liberalising their attitude. Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah married an Andhra woman Bhagirati<sup>3</sup> and

1. Selected Waqa'i Deccan, ed. Yusuf Husain. Haidarabad, 1953.

Document 10, pp. 6-7, dated the 6th August, 1662.

2. N. Venkataramanayya Silver Jubilee Souvenir, p. 46; the work not available to me, actually taken from 'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi's History of Golconda, quoting from the former.

3. Mah Nama, Haji Ghulam Husain Khan Zahir; the work not available to me, actually taken from the History of Golconda, op. cit., quoting from the former.



her son Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah also married a Hindu woman Bhagmati<sup>1</sup>, whose daughter Hayat Bakhsh Begum, the wife of Muhammad Qutb Shah, was the mother of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. The beautiful sepulchre of the latter's Hindu wife, Pemmatti is still standing outside the Golconda fort. Such marriages created a change in the outlook of these rulers. As we shall see, Hindus were often entrusted with the highest administrative posts. Ramaraja, later on the famous Regent of Vijayanagar, started his political career under Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk as the Governor of his frontier districts.<sup>2</sup> Jagdev Rao, a very powerful noble of Jamshid, was one of the persons responsible for the installation of Ibrahim Quli as the Shah of Golconda.<sup>3</sup> The Naikwaris were the favoured children of the state, as far as the recruitment to the forces was concerned.

It is with the kingship of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, that the concept of a "national" ruler takes place. He not only continued the policy of inter-communal harmony for the Hindus in state services, but was in fact the first to patronise their literature as well.

It is significant that though Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah had played a prominent part in the overthrow of the Hindu kingdom

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1. The city of Bhag Nagar, later on known as Haidarabad, was founded by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in memory of his wife Bhagmati.

2. Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, Nilkanta Sastri and Venkata Ramanayya. Madras, 1946. vol. 1, p. 257.

3. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f. 91b.



of Vijayanagar at the Battle of Talikota in 1565, he was popular with his Hindu & subjects. He gave them high posts in his services. Thus Murari Rao was made the highest officer in the relam attended by 1,000 soldiers and followers, one-fourth seer of musk, amber and frankincense and two maunda of sandal wood was provided him everyday.<sup>1</sup> Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah knew Telugu and patronised Telugu literature. His court was thronged with Telugu poets, such as the poet-laureate Gangadhara Kavi and Kandukuri Kavi.<sup>2</sup> The Telugu poets showered praises on him, Addanki Gangadhara Kavi dedicated a Prabandha called Tapati Samvarano Pakyanam to Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah in 1560. The Kavi says that the Shah's court was thronged with men learned in the Vedas, Puranas, Viyakara and cognate sciences and also speaks of munificent gifts given to the Telugu poets by the Shah, who bestowed not in thousands but in lakhs. Kandukuri Rudra Kavi was granted a jagir in perpetuity - a village near his home Kondukuru in Nellore District.<sup>3</sup> One verse has Hinduised the name of this great patron of Telugu poets by calling him Rama. "Of the Ramas, there was no equal to Abhirama on earth".<sup>4</sup> Bemoaning the death of the Shah, one

1. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. p. 197.

2. Narayana Rao, "Two Muhammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature in the 16th century". Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1945. pp. 296-98.

3. H.K. Sherwani, "Culture and administrative set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah". Islamic Culture, April, 1957. p. 131.



verse curses Brahma, "Insead of taking away useless and miserly kings, you have taken away Malkibharama. Who will hereafter look to the poor and helpless? Can you create such a one again?" Even a Sunni noble like Amin Khan could find an honourable place under the Shah,<sup>1</sup> in a striking contrast to his successors' discriminatory policies, who rarely tolerated a Sunni in their midst. That Amin Khan was a Sunni of orthodox type is borne out by the beautifully calligraphed epitaph<sup>2</sup> on his tomb at Patancheru<sup>3</sup>, wherein he humbly acknowledged his discipleship to the saint of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Gilani and paid tributes to Shah Muhammad Qadiri Multani, also a divine of repute, as his preceptor. This incidentally testified to the broad-based policy of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah.

The "national" and Indian character of the institution of Shah became more conspicuous under Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. In contrast to his predecessors, he was the first ruler of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty, whose reign generally enjoyed peace both from within and without. That is why he had sufficient time at his disposal to magnify his kingship. He was also the first ruler of this dynasty who altogether discarded his Turkish dress and adopted a purely Deccani style. He wore a

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1. Narayana Rao, "Two Muhammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature in the 16th century". Proceedings IHC, op.cit. The author has erroneously called this noble Amir Khan, whose real name was Amin Khan.

2. G. Yazdani, "A Qutb Shahi Inscription at Patancheru". Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1935-36, pp60-61.

3. in the Medak District of Andhra Pradesh.



Deccani turban instead of a Turkish samura cap and a loose jacket of linen in place of a woollen coat. The portraits of his predecessors, Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, that we have been able to examine - all depict them wearing Turkish and Iranian dress, but the pictures of Muhammad Quli and all of his successors unmistakably show them in the Indian dress.<sup>1</sup> If the Shah wore Indian dress, it is reasonable to assume that his nobles also did so.

In matters of state services, he continued the policy of generosity towards the Hindus, appointing Hindu generals, such as Asi Rao, Dharma Rao, Jagpat Rao, Sri Rao and Mukand Raj.

In order to make the Hindus feel that the ruler and the ruled enjoyed common interests, he ordered the celebration of Basant - a purely Hindu festival - on the same scale as the celebration of the religious festivals already mentioned. In Kulliyat<sup>2</sup>, there is one Qasida and seven poems in praise of the Basant festival, which is referred to as an 'Id' of the Hindus and is celebrated on the arrival of the spring. The Shah himself was a great lover of the beauties of this season and hence he displayed a great interest in the celebration of this festival.

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1. vide the photos of Sultan Quli, Ibrahim Quli and Muhammad Quli in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam, please see the appendix III.  
portraits of Muhammad Qutb Shah and Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah are in the BM Miniature paintings, 1937-4-10, 01 and 1955-10-8-024, both in the Indian dress.

2. pp. 34-36, 135-40.



Apart from the eleven state-sponsored Hindu and Muslim religious functions already discussed, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah also ordered the celebration of two purely non-religious festivals, where Hindus and Muslims alike, could mingle together and enjoy themselves to their heart's content forgetting altogether their previous bickerings and animosities. These were Nau-Roz and the Birthday of the Shah.

In Kulliyat,<sup>1</sup> there are three poems and two Qasidas narrating the grand celebration of Nau-Roz. In one of the Qasidas, there is an interesting reference, i.e., on the occasion of Nau-Roz, all the tributary Rajas and vassals of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah used to attend his court in order to pay the annual tribute to him.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Birthday of the Shah :-

The Birthday of the Shah also became a national festival, as all his subjects participated in its celebrations.<sup>3</sup>

Muhammad Quli was born on the 14th Ramazan 973 A.H./1566, but his birthday was not necessarily celebrated on the same day every year. As soon as the moon of Ramazan was in sight, the astrologers were set to work to find out the auspicious time for its celebration. On this day throughout the kingdom,

1.pp.129-32 and 3-5.

2.Ibid.p.3,verse 2. روزید کا خوش عید ہے عید کے روز میں - ہاں دیکھو کہ جیوں نیشکر ہر دیا نے تہاں عید کا

3.The insufficiency of the Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi becomes evident when we find no hint whatsoever on this very important function and for this our sole source of information is the Kulliyat i Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah,op.cit.



prayers for the long life of the Shah were offered. In order to make the occasion as attractive as possible, it can be ~~xxxx~~ presumed, on the analogy of the Shah's expenditure on Muharram, that the money spent by the state was quite enormous. The main items of expenditure were music, dancing, public feasts and decorations.

These activities of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah tempt us to call him the "national" ruler of Golconda, the only dissidents being the microscopic minority of his Sunni subjects. It seems that the Shah had no well-defined daily programme, but always held the Diwan i 'Am on the occasion of all these festivals scattered throughout the year, which the masses were allowed to attend. He also constructed a magnificent palace Dad Mahal with all its doors facing the public streets, so that the destitute and oppressed persons could have their grievances redressed by the Shah without any hindrance from the gatekeepers.<sup>1</sup>

His successor Muhammad Qutb Shah was a puritan Shi'a and was not at all interested in the festive proceedings of his predecessor, but he continued the policy of toleration and patronage towards the Non-Muslims. Instead of maintaining Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's Dad Mahal as the centre of justice,<sup>2</sup>

1. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f.150a.

2. Ibid. ff.183a-b.



he constructed another palace called Aman Mahal for the same purpose.

'Abdullah Qutb Shah endeavoured to revive the defunct practices of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and continued in entirety the policy of fraternising the Hindus. There was a belief among the Hindus that if a person bathes once a year on the occasion of Baisakhi at the confluence of two rivers, all his sins are washed away; this seems to have greatly interested 'Abdullah Qutb Shah and he himself followed this practice,<sup>1</sup> possibly to please his Hindu subjects. He even went to the extent of declaring Tuesday as a weekly holiday for their sake.<sup>2</sup> It was as the result of this policy that the Hindus gained a predominant position in the last days of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty, when the two brothers, Madanna and Akanna were the real rulers and Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah was a puppet.

1. Selected Waqa'i Deccan, ed. Yusuf Husain. Haidarabad, 1953. Document 31, p. 14. The document is dated 27.1.1662.

2. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol. 1, p. 128.

Tuesday is the Hanuman's day and hence a sacred day for the Hindus.



The Shah was the lord paramount of a society with clear class distinctions and the aristocracy was the child of his authority created solely for his political interests and essentially official in character. Generally speaking, the aristocracy was not a nobility of birth but of office - enjoying its position by the favour conferred by the Shah. Whosoever won a favour of his sovereign, could become a noble, and remain so, so long as he was considered useful by the state. It was very difficult for a member of the ruling élite to remain in power, if ever he had incurred the displeasure of the Shah. There was, however, a slight element of heredity in this system, though the aristocrat might inherit his father's title, he very rarely inherited his post. Still without any doubt, they formed a ruling ~~ex~~ class, though not a class of rulers. They were not a competent body to take decisions, but delegates and servants of the Shah to implement decisions and not to make them. In actual practice, however, the sovereign often consulted them and paid due regard to their wishes. In spite of these limitations, their importance cannot be underestimated and can be gauged from the fact that they not only managed the bureaucratic machinery for the executive work of



the government, but undoubtedly all higher administrative appointments, civil and military alike, were filled by them. During all critical periods, for example, struggles for succession or the regimes of the regents, it was mostly their role that shaped the future course of events.

Composition of the ruling élite:-

The ruling élite essentially consisted of the Muslim aristocracy in the higher grades and the Hindu aristocracy generally in the lower. By the time, the states of Bijapur and Golconda had come into being, the Muslim aristocracy had clearly split itself into two hostile groups, namely, the Deccanis and the Afaqis or Gharibu'd-diyar, commonly known as Pardesis.

Deccanis:- The term Deccani in this context does not imply Hindus, but domiciled Muslims, generally the Sunnis, whose ancestors had lived there for centuries. Thus originally, they were foreigners and the Deccan was the land of their adoption. They consisted of the descendants of five classes of Muslim settlers, the early Arab settlers, for example, the Arabs of the Naviyat clan, immigrants from the North from the days of Khaljis and Tughluqs, deserters from the North, including the Amiran i Sadah<sup>1</sup>, whose revolt led to the birth of

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1. Amiran i Sadah were officers in charge of Sadis or 100 villages or parganas. Each Amir had a large staff of establishment; vide Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Agha Mahdi Husain. London, 1938. pp. 125, 224.



the Bahmani kingdom, Hindu converts to Islam and Habshis.

Earliest Arab settlers:-It is generally considered that the earliest Muslims to settle in the Deccan were the Arabs of the Naviyat clan, who made the Konkan their permanent home about the year 701, when they fled from Kufa (in the Euphrates Valley) to escape the cruelties of the fierce governor Hajjaj bin Yusuf.<sup>1</sup> Centuries of residence in the Deccan had completely changed their manners, culture, mode of living, outlook on life and even complexion. They looked on the Deccan as their motherland.

Immigrants from the North:-We have seen in chapter I that the task of colonisation from the North was started by Muhammad bin Tughluq, when he made Daulatabad the second capital of his empire in 1327. Though ultimately, he had to abandon this project, he successfully persuaded some of the Muslim elite, both Turks and Afghans to settle in the Deccan. Their marriages with the Hindu women further bound them to the soil and by the passage of time, they forgot their loyalties outside. The emergence of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 virtually sealed the border between the North and the South and it was an act of treason if any Muslim serving under the Sultanate of Delhi transferred his loyalties to the Bahmanis. The Muslim immigration from the North to the South became more difficult

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1. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency - volume XI - Kolaba and Janjira. Bombay, 1883. p. 74. Also Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency - vol. XIII, pt. I, p. 216. Bombay, 1882. (Thana).



with the rise of independent states like Gujerat, Khandesh and Malwa between the Bahmanis and the Delhi empire.

Deserters from the North:-It was the successful rebellion of the Amiran i Sadah against Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, which led to the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Naturally they had to settle themselves permanently in the Deccan. The Bahmani Sultans, in order to maintain their authority over the vast population of the Hindus had wanted more and more Muslims, who were as yet quite insufficient to occupy all the key posts of the state. That is why Sultan 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah Bahmani, king from 1347-58, had successfully seduced some of the Turkish and Afghan nobles from the allegiance of the Tughluq Sultans.<sup>2</sup> The domicile of these chiefs and their descendents in the Deccan and also their marriages with the Hindu women had made them Deccanis to the core. They had settled in the Deccan with no intention of leaving it and considered it their home.

Hindu converts to Islam:-In the history of the Muslim Deccan, there is no evidence of the forcible conversion of the Hindus to Islam. The Muslim saints, however, appealed to the imagination of the Hindus, many of whom became their disciples<sup>3</sup> and some of

1. Burnan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9996, ff. 8b-11a.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. I, pp. 528, 530.

3. The most famous saints being Miran Sayyid Husain, died at Alas near Miraj in 1188; Sayyid 'Alau'd-din died in 1253, Sayyid Hisamu'd-din Togh Brahna died in 1281. vide the article, Muhammad 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, "The Deccan in the Fifteenth Century". JASB, vol 21, N.S. 1925. p. 570.



the Hindus became converts to Islam as a result of their preach-ings. These Muslim converts took prominent part in political affairs and many of them rose to the highest positions, the most conspicuous examples being Fath Ullah 'Amad Shah of Berar and Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar ~~o~~—the former a progeny of a Hindu of Vijayanagar and the latter from a upper class of the same place, i.e., the Brahmins.<sup>1</sup>

Habshis:-Another group amongst the Deccani Muslims was the Habshis, who were originally amongst the Pardesis. They were looked down upon by the latter on account of their black colour and also for being Sunnis. The Habshis never seem to have been reckoned as foreigners throughout the history of the Deccan, but we always find them making common cause with the Deccanis. It is well known that in the fifteenth century and also in the sixteenth, a number of slaves were exported from the Somali Coast to India.<sup>2</sup> They were known as Habshis or Abyssinians, which is what many, though not all of them really were. These Habshi immigrants under the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire were generally treated as slaves or given only petty posts, but in the Deccan were afforded full opportunities<sup>3</sup> to

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol.2, pp.343, 180.

2. C.F. Beckingham, "Amba Gesen and Asirgarh". Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester. April, 1957. p.182.

3. The Habshis reached their zenith in Bengal, when for six years 1487-93, they actually ruled the land as sovereigns, though their reign was a dark chapter in the history of Bengal. History of Bengal, vol. 2, pp.138-41. (ed. Sir J.N. Sarkar, Dacca, 1948).



distinguish themselves.

Afaqis, Gharibu'd-diyar or Pardesis:-They were generally Shi'a. They were aliens in the country, who did not come from the North or the North West passes but directly by sea from Iran or Iraq. Most of them were Sayyids of Kerbala and Najf or Persians from Sistan and Gilan lured by the bright prospects offered by the Bahmani Sultans.

When the Bahmani Sultans failed to seduce a large number of Muslims from their loyalty to the Delhi Sultanate in order to fill the higher posts of the state, they hit upon a new idea. Taju'd-din Feroz Hasan Bahmani, 1397-1422, sent a number of ships every year to Iran and Iraq inviting soldiers of repute, poets, artisans, men of letters etc., to settle in the Deccan and enjoy royal favours. This policy was continued by his successors with varying success. It appeared to Sultan Shihabu'd-din Ahmad I, 1422-36, that if he could persuade any leading mystic to come to his country, his innumerable disciples and followers might follow him in the wake. Probably this was one of the motives which urged him to invite Shah Ni'mat Ullah from Kirman to settle in his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The latter refused to come but sent his grandson Ni'mat Ullah whom the Sultan promoted to the rank of Maliku'l-Musha'kh and

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. I, pp. 634-35.



granting him precedence even on the descendents of Hazrat Gesu Daraz.<sup>1</sup> After Shah Ni'mat Ullah's death in 1431, his whole family migrated to Bidar and was highly favoured by the Sultan.

It was a declared policy of the Bahmanis to accord preferential treatment to these new-comers. Those possessing exceptional merit were highly honoured, the most conspicuous examples being the two Pardesi Governors Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, who founded the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda respectively.

The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda also continued the policy of inviting Pardesi Muslims, but there were conspicuous differences in regard to the working of this policy. All the rulers of Golconda were Shi'a and most of them preferred Shi'a immigrants. That is why, the Shi'a generally flocked to Golconda, where they were sure of gaining a respectable livelihood. The rulers of Bijapur were not all Shi'a and even most of her Shi'a rulers were not anti-Sunni in their conduct. Therefore, Shi'a and Sunnis both settled in this kingdom.

Deserters from the North:-The establishment of the Mughal Empire unseated the Afghans from their exalted position and

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1. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM MsAdd 9996, f.57a.

Hazrat Gesu Daraz - a prominent saint - came from Delhi to Gulbarga in 1401 in the reign of Sultan Feroz Shah Bahmani and settled there. His 'urs is even now celebrated with great reverence every year for 3 days from the 15th-17th Zul-Qa'da. pp.532-33. Waqi'at i Mamlukat i Bijapur, vol.3.



most of the Suris and Lodis migrated from the North and settled generally in Bijapur. Khan Jahan Lodi's rebellion against Shah Jahan brought more Afghans to the kingdom of Bijapur. These immigrants were in most cases Sunnis, but they refused to join the Deccanis and preferred an alliance with the Pardesis.

Bitter rivalry between the two groups The Deccanis were too few to fill the high ranking posts of the Bahmanis and the latter were forced to encourage immigration of Muslims from foreign countries. The Bahmani Sultans found the Pardesis more enterprising and energetic than the Deccanis and hence it was their declared policy that the Pardesis should be accorded preferential treatment in matters of state services and jagirs. At first, the Deccanis did not mind this discriminatory policy, but when they found the Pardesis growing more and more important, their bitter jealousy was aroused. As the Pardesis grew in numbers, the rivalry became correspondingly greater. The Pardesis being generally Shi'a and the Deccanis mostly Sunnis - this religious difference added fuel to the fire. Their mutual hatred often manifested itself with dangerous consequences to one another. In 1447, Sultan 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II sent the Maliku't-Tujjar Khalaf Hasan as the head of an army<sup>1</sup> composed of the Deccanis and the Pardesis against the

1. The discussion of this incident based on Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9996, ff. 68b-71a and Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs) vol. I, pp. 648-50.



refractory chiefs of Konkan. The expedition was eminently successful and one Hindu chief Raja Shankra Rao Sharka became a convert to Islam and also offered to guide the victorious army through dense forests routes against the rest of the rebels. The Deccanis did not wish to accomplish the hazardous task ahead and remained in the background, but the Pardesis went on and were butchered in hundreds including Khalaf Hasan himself through the treachery of Raja Shankar Rao Sharka, who managed this foul play by secretly informing the hostile Raja of Sangameshwar of the coming danger. The surviving Pardesis held the Deccanis responsible for this disaster; the latter, fearing a reproach from the Sultan, through a master stroke of diplomacy managed to convince him before-hand of the rebelliousness of the Pardesis. The Sultan, in a state of intoxication ordered their destruction and accordingly, about 7,000 Pardesis including their children were butchered at Chakan, among them were 12,00 Sayyids from Medina and Kerbala.<sup>1</sup> Some of the survivors, however, managed to reach the Sultan and convinced him of their innocence. The Sultan was much ashamed of his folly and in vengeance ordered the slaughtering of the Deccanis. The relations between these two factions after these ghastly incidents became very strained and both were on the look-out

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol.1.pp.649-50. Chakan is 20 miles North of Poona in Khed Taluka in Poona District. The number of persons killed at Chakan seems to be an exaggeration, but shows the bitterness of feelings.



for an opportunity to ruin one another. It was under the Vikalat of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan that both the factions were at peace thanks to his magnanimous policy towards them. His execution in 1481 brought about by the intrigues of the Deccanis brought the Bahmani kingdom to the verge of ruin.<sup>1</sup> This grave injustice so much exasperated the Pardesi nobles that they left the capital for their jagirs without taking any formal permission from the Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani. Such an open estrangement of the Pardesis afforded opportunity to the Deccanis to capture power for themselves. Hasan Nizamu'l-Mulk became the Vakil and therefore, a supreme power in the state. He was also raised to the rank of Malik Na'ib. Muhammad Shah Bahmani died in 1482 and was succeeded by the minor Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Malik Na'ib became a member of the council of regency. On the occasion of his coronation,<sup>when</sup> the nobles from all corners of the kingdom had gathered into the capital, a conspiracy was hatched by the Deccanis to assassinate the Pardesis including Yusuf 'Adil Khan. The plot leaked out and in consequence, Bidar, the capital, was the scene of disorders for about three months. At long last, the Pardesis retired to their respective jagirs leaving Malik Na'ib at the helm of affairs in the capital.<sup>2</sup>

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For details in the Bahmanis of the Deccan, H.K. Sherwani.

Haidarabad. 1953. pp 33-36.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs). vol. 1, pp. 703-4.



The regency lasted hardly for four years. Owing to the selfishness of its members, the Bahmani kingdom was tottering. The supporters of Malik Na'ib including the Habshis had become estranged from him. His confidant Dilpasand Khan Deccani, acting under the instigation of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani, assassinated Malik Na'ib.<sup>1</sup> Now the Pardesis gained power and the Deccanis in sheer retaliation attempted to assassinate the Sultan, but the Turkish guards were too alert and the conspirators were done to death in large numbers.<sup>2</sup> (November, 1487). The Sultan, very pleased at his escape, ordered the general slaughter of the Deccanis and the confiscation of their assets. This massacre lasted for three days and it is said that it was stopped only at the entreaties of Shah Muhib - Ullah, who was himself a Pardesi. The rule of Qasim Barid, a Turkish noble, as the Vakil, was intolerable for the Deccanis. Ahmad Niamu'l-Mulk, son of the late Malik Na'ib, was the first amongst them to secede and form the independent state of Ahmadnagar in 1490, other nobles followed him in his wake. Thus the Bahmani kingdom was ultimately destroyed mainly owing to the animosity of two groups.

The states of Bijapur and Golconda had inherited this spirit of rivalry and hostility among their aristocracy from the parent Bahmani kingdom. The ruler's attitude often

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol.1. pp.708-9.

2. Ibid. vol.1. p.709.



exacerbated their feelings. Thus if he was a pro-Deccani, the Deccanis would gain all important posts to the neglect of the Pardesis and the latter in desperation, would start subversive activities against the state. This has been a striking feature in the history of these ~~of these~~ states in general and of Bijapur in particular. The regency of Kamal Khan Deccani was very troublesome for the Pardesis, who ultimately succeeded in undermining him altogether.<sup>1</sup> Isma'il 'Adil Khan, who owed his throne to the steadfast loyalty of the Pardesis was always malicious towards the Deccanis and the Habshis.<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I was pro-Deccani to the core and had removed all Pardesi nobles from higher posts, the only exception being Asad Khan Lari. When the Deccanis found the Shah in their favour, the Deccanis wished to exploit him against Asad Khan Lari. According to Ferishta,<sup>3</sup> the Deccanis were burning at the great success of that noble and declared to the Shah that Asad Khan Lari, while carrying out his orders for the arrest of the wife and children of Ramaraja's brother, had accepted a huge bribe from them and not credited it to the state treasury. The Shah believed this mere hearsay, but perceiving it inexpedient to arrest him in public, intrigued

~~1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs). vol. 2, p. 31.~~

1. vide next chapter.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs). vol. 2, p. 31.

3. Ibid. vol. 2, p. 52.



with Yusuf Shahna, his Vakil and Mir Jumla, a Deccani to capture Asad Khan Lari and present him to the court, but in vain as the latter was more than a match for them. This narration of Ferishta is directly contradicted by the Portuguese historian Faria Y Souza, who categorically stated<sup>1</sup> that Asad Khan Lari, in 1544, was intriguing with the Portuguese to have the Shah deposed and in return for this help offered them Konkan - the annual income of which was one million Ducats.<sup>2</sup> They were wavering but were ultimately persuaded against it. On the very surface, the evidence of the Portuguese seems weighty. The Pardesi Asad Khan Lari could not afford to be loyal to a staunchly pro-Deccani Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I as his own safety was always in danger owing to the unending intrigues of the Deccanis. If the Shah was kind to him on a certain day, on the very next day, the situation could take a turn for the worse. Therefore, if he intrigued with the Portuguese to have the Shah deposed, we should not be surprised at all. The trouble with Ferishta is that he is ever-ready to defend a Shi'a against the Sunni. Similarly in 1555, the Pardesi nobles created a great trouble for the Shah and the version of Ferishta on this context is interesting.<sup>3</sup> According to him,

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1. Asia Portuguesa, vol. 2. p. 138.

2. The Florin was minted in Florence from A.D. 1252 and its weight was 54 grains. It was copied by the Venetians in 1284 as the Ducat, later called Sequin. British Sovereign (£1) weighed 123 grains from 1817 onwards. Ducat was therefore, worth 54/123 or about 9 Shillings. Vide Encyclopaedia Britannica, articles on Numismatics, Ducat, Sequin, Sovereign.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs). vol. 2. pp. 61-63.



the Deccanis again in 1555, whispered to the Shah that the loyalty of his commander in chief Saif Khan 'Ainu'l-Mulk was doubtful and that he being a Shi'a, was in secret correspondence with Husain Nizam Shah. This actually occurred when the Shah was fighting a battle against the ruler of Ahmadnagar at Sholapur and unnerved him so much that without conducting any enquiry into the matter, he fled from the battlefield leaving the foe victorious without striking a blow. The Portuguese evidence,<sup>1</sup> confirms again the rebelliousness of the Bijapuri nobles, which should mean only the Pardesis here. They wanted to depose the Shah by any means fair or foul and renewed the offer to the Portuguese of the fertile territory of Konkan, if they helped them in their designs. The Portuguese, again refused to interfere in the domestic affairs of Bijapur. It is curious that Ferishta does not find fault with the Shi'a nobles, his co-religionists, but spares no pains to place blame only on the Sunnis.

Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, the Pardesis were in power to the disgust of the Deccanis and Mustafa Khan Ardistani, after the Battle of Talikota (1565) had joined the service of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I as his premier noble.<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, though a pro-Deccani, was a peace-loving sovereign and preserved peace

1. Asia Portuguesa, vol. 2, pp. 292-93.

2. ~~Muntakhabul-Lubab Khafix Khannaxvolxxx~~  
2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs). vol. 2, p. 83.



between the two factions. This is also true of his successors Muhammad 'Adil Shah and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II. With the accession of the minor Sikandar 'Adil Shah, the old enmities between the two factions were revived. When the Deccanis captured power, they would monopolise all the key-posts and harass the Pardesis as much as they could, and similarly when the Pardesis were in power, they retaliated with vengeance against their opponents.<sup>1</sup> Their mutual jealousies and bickerings were ultimately responsible for the extinction of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty.

A conspicuous feature of the Qutb Shahiya history is that the Pardesis were in power throughout and the Deccanis were generally treated as the step-children of the state. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was a great patron of the Pardesis and it is strange that under him, the Deccanis made a fairly successful attempt at the annihilation of the Pardesis. The Shah was busy indulging in merriments <sup>at midnight</sup> when some drunken Pardesis broke-open the gate of the Bagh i Doazdah, in order to pass the night there. The gatekeeper immediately reported the matter to 'Ali Aqa, the Kotwal, a Deccani, who lost no time in passing it on to the Shah and explained it to him in such a way that the latter lost his temper. In a fit of rage and drunkenness, he ordered the slaughtering of the Pardesis. Within a few

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1. For details, see next chapter.



hours, one hundred Pardesis including the Sayyids, were killed and their houses were looted and subsequently burnt. It was only when the Mir Jumla Mirza Muhammad Amin Ispahani convinced the Shah of his folly that the slaughter was stopped.<sup>1</sup> The Shah was highly penitent for this blunder. The long supremacy of the Pardesis was smashed for ever, when Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah dismissed the Vakil Sayyid Muzaffar and Musa Khan, the governor of the Carnatic and had them ~~re~~ replaced by the Brahman brothers Madanna and Akanna respectively either in the end of 1674 or about 1675. They, for the first time, in the history of Golconda, pursued a thoroughly pro-Deccani policy, displaced a large number of Pardesis and patronised the Deccanis. Madanna enlisted many Hindus in the state services; his brother Akanna was promoted as Majmu'adar,<sup>2</sup> Asanna, his cousin was appointed governor of Warangal and Yankanna, his nephew, honoured with the title of Rustam Rao. These circumstances exasperated the Deccanis (Muslims) in general and Pardesis in particular and ultimately contributed to the extinction of the house of the Qutb Shahs.

Hindu Aristocracy:- As already discussed, the Muslim conquerors of the Deccan felt an acute shortage of Muslim aristocracy. Therefore, they were forced to employ Hindus.

1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, vol. 3. pp. 387-88 and the Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, ff. 170b-171a.

2. vide chapter V.



'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah was the first to employ the Brahmans in his administration.<sup>1</sup> This policy, carried on by his successor Muhammad Shah I, was continued on a very large scale by Taju'd-din Feroz Bahmani (1397-1422).<sup>2</sup> The Muslim aristocrats whenever they were granted a jagir in distant corners of the kingdom or in the hilly tracts, preferred not to administer it personally but to leave it in the hands of the Hindu chiefs on an understanding that they would bring a certain number of retainers into the field whenever required.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the Hindu chiefs were appeased by the titles like Naik, Raja and Rao, which also carried with them the means of supporting the new ranks.<sup>4</sup>

The Marathas have usually occupied an honourable position in the Deccan kingdoms ever since the days of the Bahmanis. The greater part of Maharashtra (the land of the Marathas) was in the kingdom of Bijapur. Therefore, they formed the Hindu aristocracy of the state. Many Maratha families rose to power and influence under the 'Adil Shahs and the most conspicuous amongst them <sup>were</sup> ~~as~~ under.<sup>5</sup>

The Mores of Javli:- A person named Morey, originally a Naik in the Carnatic, was appointed to command 12,000 infantry by

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol.1.p.527, vol.2, pp.49, 85, 99.

2. The Bahmanis of the Deccan, H.K.Sherwani. Haidarabad. 1953. pp.143-44 and p.171 note 2; also the article of

'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi, "Feroz Shah Bahmani as a Nation Builder of the Deccan". Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1938.p.291.

3. History of the Deccan, J.D.B.Gribble.vol.1.pp.205-7.London, 1896.

4. Maratha History Re-examined, S.R.Sharma. Bombay, 1944. pp.48-49.

5. History of the Mahrattas, J.G.Duff, vol.1.London, 1878; the discussion based on pp.71-75.



Yusuf 'Adil Khan. On account of his meritorious services, he was dignified with the title of Chandra Rao and his son Jaswant Rao for his loyal services to the same ruler was confirmed in succession as the Raja of Javli. All his successors assumed the title of Chandra Rao.<sup>1</sup>

The Nimbalkars of Phaltan:-Babaji Sahib, Naik, was a loyal lieutenant of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, when the latter assumed independence and in recognition of his services, was granted the jagir of Phaltan. Maluji Nimbalkar fought with a whole-hearted devotion on the side of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I at the historic Battle of Talikota (1565) against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

The Ghorpades:-The (Ghorpades were originally called Bhonslas and their forefathers acquired the present surname according to the family legend during the Bahmani regime for having conquered a strong fort in the Konkan. Shahji Bhonsla entered the service of Muhammad 'Adil Shah and earned fame as a general and an administrator. Much of the credit for the 'Adil Shahi conquests in the South after 1636 was due to him and he was appointed to be ~~their~~ administrator in recognition of <sup>his</sup> ~~their~~ services

The Duflays were the Deshmukhs<sup>2</sup> of the pargana of Jhutt (near Bijapur). They were so named after their village

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1.1.This family was extirpated by Shivaji in 1656.

2.For Deshmukh, see chapter VII.



Duflapur, of which they were the hereditary Patels.<sup>1</sup>

The Savantas were the hereditary Deshmukhs of Waree near Goa and were honoured with the title of Bahadur by the Bijapur Government during her wars against the Portuguese.

Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, his three premier Hindu nobles, Dev Naik, Pem Naik and Jut Rao commanded 3,000 horsemen and 50 elephants each and they were represented in the court by the Brahman agents; even the Hindu nobles of lower status commanded not less than three to four hundred horsemen each.<sup>2</sup>

These Hindu nobles, though generally loyal to the state, were often jealous of one another. The policy of the Bahmanis of playing off one against the other was continued by the 'Adil Shahs. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi has narrated an incident to show, how the Naikwaris, who had become too haughty in the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, were brought to book by a policy of divide and rule under the direction of Afzal Khan Shirazi, the Vakil.<sup>3</sup>

If the higher administrative and military posts were occupied by the Marathas, the department of revenue and accounts was monopolised by the Brahmans, who were particularly well-versed in figure work

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1. For Patel, see chapter VII.

2. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 85a.

3. Ibid, ff. 84b-90b.



Similarly in Golconda, the Hindus were enrolled amongst the aristocracy as a matter of necessity. As we have seen, the rulers of Bijapur were sometimes Shi'a and at times Sunni and hence both the Shi'a and Sunni immigrants were able to settle in this kingdom. The rulers of Golconda were all Shi'a without any exception and they generally encouraged the immigration of the Shi'a only. Therefore, comparatively speaking, Muslims were fewer in Golconda than in Bijapur. Hence the Hindus could gain even the highest posts without any serious difficulty.<sup>1</sup> Here the Hindu aristocracy was not localised in certain families or tribes as was the case in Bijapur. The Niyogi or Telugu Brahmans had for long been employed from the lower offices of village accountants to the highest positions in the royal treasury.<sup>2</sup> Surya Rao Brahman was the head of the revenue department (Mu'tamid i Maliya) under Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.<sup>3</sup> I'tamad Rao was the famous Dabir (Secretary in charge of drafting the royal Farmans) under 'Abdullah Qutb Shah entrusted with the task of rendering the Farmans into Telugu for the benefit of the Hindus.<sup>4</sup> Narayana Rao and Maru Pandit were the Majmu'adars of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah

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1. Tarikh i Deccan, vol. 2, p. 294.

2. Mackenzie Collection (General), vol. 44, p. 8.

3. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f. 167a.

4. Hadiqatu's-salatin, p. 31.



and Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah respectively.<sup>1</sup> In the army, Naikwaris held important positions. It was the loyalty of Jagdev Rao and Jagpat Rao that facilitated the accession of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah; this ruler and his successors followed such a pro-Hindu policy that they may be called the "national" rulers of Golconda. Under Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Hindu generals were often sent against the Hindu rebels against the Shah and the task was usually accomplished with the utmost loyalty to the master. Asi Rao, his famous general led an army against Partap, the Zamindar of Dastar and the Muslim commanders Sayyid Haidar and Amjadu'l-Mulk were his subordinates in this expedition.<sup>2</sup> The refractory Vasna Dev of the Reddywars was annihilated by Dharma Rao, another of his famous generals.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is certain that the Hindus in Golconda were entrusted with higher posts on a large scale. In Bijapur, it was not easier for the Hindus to get the highest posts, as the Muslim aristocracy was comparatively larger in number and the state could not ignore their claims. It is true that Shahji Bhonsla and Maluji Ghorpade <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ granted the ranks of 5,000 and 2,000 respectively by Muhammad 'Adil Shah, but Sarkar is correct in saying<sup>4</sup> that even a highly placed Hindu did not

1. Hadiqatu's Salatin, p. 31 and the Farman of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah in D.M.G. Margburg - its photostat with me.

2. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. vol. 1. pp. 256-57.

3. Ibid. vol. 1. pp. 253-55.

4. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J.N. Sarkar. vol. 4. p. 130. Calcutta, 1919.



enjoy safety of tenure in comparison with a Muslim noble. It was not easy for a Hindu Amir to remain in his position if he incurred the displeasure of the Shah or any of his Muslim courtiers, the most conspicuous example being of Surya Rao Brahman broken by the Mir Jumla Muhammad Amin.<sup>1</sup>

#### Appointments:-

There is no data available on the system of appointments to the higher services, but it can be safely presumed that the right of making appointments was a prerogative of the Shah. Every candidate for superior services had first of all to seek a patron either his own <sup>relations</sup> ~~kith and kin~~ or a member of his own caste or tribe, who would recommend him to the Shah. The status, qualifications, reputation and the number of followers, if any, were taken into consideration at the time of his appointment. For example, the Peshwa, the highest officer in the kingdom next only to the Shah, could only be that person in whose integrity, intrepidity and loyalty, fullest reliance could be placed. It was really a good fortune of these states that many a times, they had had Peshwas of the ideal type. The Peshwa Mustafa Khan Ardistani - the strong man of Bijapur - was invited to the Peshwaship by 'Ali 'Adil Shah I owing to his great fame as an administrator and a soldier.<sup>2</sup> The Shah placed

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1. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f.167a.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp.133-37.



unbounded confidence in him and had even entrusted his royal seal to him for the authentication of state orders. The Peshwa not only extended the boundaries of the state, but also created a fleet of 180 ships that plied the sea from the Coast of Gujerat to the Bay of Bengal. In order to spread the fame of his royal master far and wide, he also kept up a correspondence with the prominent rulers of the age, namely, the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman, the Magnificent, Shah Tahmasp of Persia and Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor. There was also an annual interchange of gifts between his Shah and the rulers mentioned above. Another prominent Peshwa of 'Ali 'Adil ShahI was Afzal Khan Shirazi,<sup>1</sup> the fame of whose scholastic attainments and unimpeachable integrity reached from Persia and secured for him the post of Peshwa of Bijapur. His age witnessed a wonderful congregation of learned men in Bijapur thanks to his efforts - all in the pay of the state. He was also an administrative genius and was the first to plan the departmentalization of the machinery of the state.<sup>2</sup>

In Golconda, the most famous Peshwa was Mir Muhammad Momin Astrabadi, one of the most learned men of the age in the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. It was under his enlightened Peshwaship that Golconda emerged as a prosperous, enlightened

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 130-32.

2. vide chapter v.



and a "national" state. His pupil 'Allama Ibn Khatun was the famous Peshwa of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. In 1675, Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah appointed the Brahman Madanna to this post. The appointment of a Hindu to such an exalted post was unprecedented in the Deccan states.

Under the Bahmanis, we do hear of some sort of Mansabdari system;<sup>1</sup> the Governor of a province was a commander of 2,000, an amiru'l-Umara of 15,00, the Vakil of 12,00 and the rest of the aristocracy commanded troops ranging in number from 1,000 - 1,00. We do not know clearly whether the 'Adil Shahs or the Qutb Shahs also followed this system. In the history of these states, there are a few references to such ranks but not enough to be conclusive. For example, Mustafa Khan Ardistani commanded the rank of 22,000,<sup>2</sup> Shahji Bhonsla<sup>3</sup> was the commander of 5,000. These very few references add to the confusion and lead us to assume that in these states, emphasis was laid not on the rank, i.e., the number of troops but on the jagirs granted to the aristocracy. There was also no differentiation of functions. Every commander was supposed to be a good administrator as well.

#### Economic Position of the Ruling Elite:-

Nature of the jagir system:- The states of Bijapur and Golconda had inherited the jagir system from the parent Bahmani kingdom.

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol.1.p.616.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.136.

3. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J.N.Sarkar, vol.4, p.130.

3. Shivaji in Great Bal Krishna, Bombay, 1932, vol.1, p.104



The jagir was granted to a state official in return for his services to the government. Sometimes the theologians and those well versed in various sciences and literature were also the recipients ~~and~~ of such grants of land revenue in recognition of their merit, but they were not expected to maintain any troops for the state. From the income of the jagir, a jagirdar was required to defray the cost of maintaining the area under his jurisdiction, to pay for the expenses and also to remit a fixed amount to the royal treasury every year. In theory, the jagirdar was a creature of the state and could be deprived of his holding or transferred to another place at the pleasure of the ~~pleasure of the~~ Shah, but in actual practice, he obeyed the sovereign only if he found the latter stable enough to enforce obedience. Any weakness in the central government was exploited by him. It is difficult to find instances of forcible transfers of jagirdars in the sixteenth century history of these states. The Umara<sup>1</sup> usually resided in the ~~xxx~~ capital to play the game of politics and left the administration of their jagirs in the hands of their agents; Asad Khan <sup>L</sup>ari, the premier noble of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I was usually absent from his jagir either in the capital or on

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1. Unlike the Mughal system of Mansabdari, there is no statistical data available concerning these Deccani <sup>states</sup> to determine how an official could be classified as an amir. It can be presumed that only the bigger jagirdars were called Umara.



military expeditions,<sup>1</sup> Shahji Phonsla's agent in Poona was Dadaji Konadev.

In the seventeenth century history of the Deccani states, one does come across instances of forcible transfers or sometimes their confiscation even. This was due to the growing might of the state expressed in standing armies, hitherto lacking. In 1643, Muhammad 'Adil Shah became displeased with his prominent noble Mustafa Khan; the latter was not only arrested along with his two sons and their jagirs confiscated, but it was feared that even the favourites of Mustafa Khan holding important posts would also suffer. That is why, Raza Muhammad Raja, the Havaladar of Konkan, who was a creature of that noble, fearing severe penalties from the Shah, ran away from his kingdom and with the help of the Portuguese, managed his escape from India.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in Golconda, several examples of this type are on record. Khwaja Afzal Turk,<sup>3</sup> who acted as Sar Khail under Muhammad Qutb Shah for nine years and also had a jagir yielding an annual income of one hundred thousand Huns had to give it <sup>up</sup> in favour of Mir Muhammad Taqi Tabatai under orders from the Shah. This jagir was restored to him in the beginning of the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah on the strong recommendation of Mansur Khan Habshi, the Mir Jumla.

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), vol. 2 .pp. 51, 52.

2. Assentos Do Conselho, vol. 2. p. 458.

3. Hadigatu's-Salatin, vol. 1, p. 30.



Malik 'Ambar, a prominent jagirdar under Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Qutb Shah, whose annual income from his jagirs amounted to one hundred thousand Huns, had to surrender them under orders from 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike the Mughal Mansabdar, the Deccani jagirdar was not a state official because of his post. Owing to the smaller number of the Muslim Umara in the Deccan, he could get both a jagir and an administrative post, or in other words, he would have double income, but this was not usually the case under the Mughals, where a jagir meant a payment for services rendered anywhere in the Empire. The Muslim Deccani Umara were the favoured children of the state. They were treated with extreme generosity, recurring liberal pensions, jagirs and unlimited license to plunder<sup>2</sup> particularly during the war.

In addition to the income from the jagirs, the Muslim nobles of Bijapur sometimes obtained ~~to get~~ considerable gifts from the Portuguese in cash and kind and in return, they would persuade the Shah to grant <sup>trade</sup> concessions to these foreigners. In 1637, Sayyidi Rihan, on account of these services, had gained a handsome present from them under such a secrecy that his rival Mustafa Khan was not in the know of it.<sup>3</sup> In 1641,

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1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol. 1. p. 30.

2. Notes on 'Adil Shahi history based on Persian sources no longer extant. BM Ms Add 29209, f. 440b.

3. Assentos Do Conselho, vol. 2. p. 166.



the Dutch, by their great gifts to the royal favourites, had obtained trade concessions from Muhammad 'Adil Shah.<sup>1</sup>

In Golconda, the Umara (mostly Persians) used to multiply their income by lending money to the native officers at 4 or 5 percent rates of interest per mensem.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes they would employ lesser number of troops than the actual number required from them by the state and in this way, they made a fortune.<sup>3</sup> Thus their income was very considerable and they lived very ostentatiously. The grand dinner given in the honour of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah by his Mir Jumla Mirza Muhammad Amin is often quoted as the most conspicuous example of ostentatious living. The mere Hadiya presented to the Shah was 150,000 Huns on that occasion.<sup>4</sup>

Under the Mughals, the escheat system was meant to clear the outstanding arrears of debt from the deceased official and after their settlement, the balance, if any, was returned to the legal heirs. Whether the same system of escheat prevailed in these states, one cannot say with certainty. The only known case on record about escheat is that of Asad Khan Lari, the premier <sup>noble</sup> of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah.<sup>5</sup> This Amir owed nothing to the

1. Assentos Do Conselho, vol. 2. pp. 312-16.

2. Relations of Golconda in the 17th century, ed. W. H. Moreland. London, 1931. p. 78.

3. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. Surendranath Sen. New Delhi. 1949. pp. 140, 143.

4. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. vol. 1. pp. 255-56.

5. Basatinu's-Salatin. p. 63.



state, but his wealth had excited the greed of the Shah and that is why his 320 elephants and 400 horses were confiscated and the remaining wealth in ca<sup>sh</sup> and kind was restored to the dependents. Still it is difficult to believe that the jagirs were hereditary. The jagirs were granted to the incumbent during the pleasure of the state and could be confiscated any time depending on circumstances. In any case, they could be held only during the life-time of the official and had to be renewed to his progeny if the Shah wished to do so.

The Shah was often considerate to the dependents of the deceased amir and Miraslands were generally granted to them for their maintenance.<sup>1</sup> John Fryer's statement<sup>2</sup> to the contrary on this context does not seem to be in accordance with facts and he has cited no instances to substantiate his assertion.

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1. History of the Mahrattas, J.G.Duff, vol.2.p.26. London, 1878. Mirasland was a hereditary jagir on the condition that the state dues were paid regularly. It had the important ~~pr~~ privilege of selling or transferring the rights of occupancy any time.
  2. New Account of East India and Persia, ed.W.Crook.Hakluyt, London, 1909.vol.1.p.83.



Chapter IV.The Regency.

General Remarks:-Strictly speaking, Regent is a person who rules temporarily as the supreme administrator of the realm during the minority of the ruler. He is expected to rule for the best interests of the kingdom and not to behave as a leader of the faction or the tribe to which he belonged. These conditions were, however, never satisfied by the Regents of Bijapur or Golconda, who always endeavoured to rule as the leader of a certain faction aiming to further their own interests even at the cost of the higher ideals of loyalty to the dynasty. During the minority of the ruler, the Regent was for all practical purposes a king in miniature except that the Khutba and coinage were beyond his privileges and that all his orders had to be authenticated by the royal seal though this was always in his possession.

Regency as an institution had existed in the Deccan before the advent of Islam but there were conspicuous differences between regency in the Hindu Deccan and that of the Muslim Deccan. In the former, the Regent was usually a relative of the deceased ruler, for instance, a widowed mother or uncle. Even when the Regent was a relation other than the Queen Mother, the former would hold the reins of kingship in trust until the minor king attained his majority when the sovereignty was quietly handed over to him. For example, Govinda III was



succeeded by his minor son Sarva, better known as Amoghavarsha in 814, and Karkka (son of Indra, the brother of Govinda III) acted as the Regent and served his Ward very faithfully and made his position very strong after defeating all the centrifugal forces by 821.<sup>1</sup> Among the Hoysalas, there were two cases of regency and both confirm our assumption to the effect. Narasimha<sup>2</sup> was born in April or May 1133 and Vishnuvardhana (his father) at once set up this baby as his future successor. The boy was crowned immediately and given his father's title of Jagadekamalla. The infant was given a court and ministers and his mother Lakshmi Mahadevi, the Regent, formed a committee to rule in his name. The father died in 1142. The regency worked well and there was no treachery anywhere. Ballala II<sup>3</sup> (king from 1173-1220) entered into public life in 1164 at the age of fourteen and exercised authority in his own name though clearly under his father's control. In 1165, he was ruling the kingdom with the title Kumara. From 1167-68, he exercised the regency for his father who was at that time almost incapacitated through sickness or some other cause. There is no instance of treachery to the father during the days of his

1. The Rashtrakutas and their times, A.S. Altekar. Poona, 1934.

pp. 71-74. Also the History and Culture of the Indian People (The Age of Imperial Kanauj), vol. 4. ed. R.C. Majumdar, 1955. pp. 8-9.

2. The Hoysalas, J. Duncan M. Derrett. OUP 1957. pp. 65-66.

3. Ibid. pp. 76-79.

Bombay



regency. In the Hindu Deccan, kingship was the private property of the royal family and the Regent - a mere trustee - did not often exceed the limits of his powers. The history of Vijayanagar, however, contained instances where Regents attempted to become kings themselves,<sup>1</sup> the cases of Vira Narasimha and Rama Raja are the glaring examples. Saluva Narasimha, at the death, entrusted the administration of his empire to his trusted general Narasa Nayaka until the princes attained majority. After the death of Narasa, his son Vira Narasimha acted as the Regent for sometime. But later (1507), he usurped the throne and founded the Tuluva line of kings of which the greatest was his successor Krishnadeva Raya (1509-29). Similarly Sadasiva Raya was sixteen years old when he became the king in 1542 and Rama Raja, son-in-law of the late Krishnadeva Raya, acted as the Regent. Sadasiva was soon imprisoned and Rama Raja usurped all power for himself.<sup>2</sup>

One explanation of the disregard in Vijayanagar of the early Hindu traditions of regency in the Deccan appears to have been the contagious example of the Muslim rulers around it. Under the Bahmanis, however, loyalty to the royal throne by the Regents was scrupulously adhered to and there are three cases on

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1. Administrative and Social Life under Vijayanagar,  
T.V. Mahalingam. Madras, 1940. pp. 17-18.

2. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9997, f. 32a.



record to the effect.<sup>1</sup>

Nizamu'd-din Ahmad III (1461-63), a minor of eight years was well served by the council of regency headed by the Queen-Mother Nargis Begum. Similar was the case under his younger brother Shamsu'd-din Muhammad III (1463-82). Shihabu'd-din Mahmud Shah Bahmani (1482-1518) became the king at the age of twelve and there was never any attempt by the regency to do away with him. With the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom, demoralisation crept into the Muslim ruling classes. In the sixteenth century muslim Deccan, the regency assumed a new ~~xxxx~~ character. The Regent was never a relative of the deceased ruler (unlike the Bahmanis) but was usually his confidant and powerful noble commissioned to enforce his will on the minor prince. For example, Yusuf 'Adil Khan directed his trustworthy noble Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi to act as Regent for the minor Isma'il 'Adil Khan.<sup>2</sup> 'Ali 'Adil Shah I nominated Kamil Khan as the Regent for the minor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II<sup>3</sup> and similarly 'Ali 'Adil Shah II conferred the powers of regency on Khawas Khan in regard to Sikandar 'Adil Shah.<sup>4</sup>

The characteristic feature of the Muslim regency in the Deccan

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1. The Bahmanis of the Deccan, H.K. Sherwani. Haidarabad, 1953. pp. 276, 364.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 23; Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 26.

3. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ma Add 26270, f. 18a. Kamil Khan was the person commissioned by 'Ali 'Adil II to blind prince Tahmasp and then to keep him in close confinement so as to remove any challenge to his master. It was through such services that he was considered a persona grata and made the Regent.

4. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 436.



of this period was disloyalty to the cause entrusted to it. Unlike the Hindu Deccan, kingship was not regarded as the exclusive right of the royal family by the Muslims. Almost every Regent during his tenure of office attempted to strengthen his own position by giving key-posts to his clique; he considered the state treasury his private property and even distributed some of the ladies of the royal Harem among his own followers. He also endeavoured to capture the throne for himself. Such ventures always ended in a failure and usually cost him his life, ~~but~~ the only curb upon the Regent was the opposition of other nobles who did not form part of his personal following.

#### Regency in Bijapur:-

As already discussed in chapter II, the problems of succession were complicated in Bijapur by the early demise of several of its rulers and the extreme youth of their successors. Thus Isma'il 'Adil Khan, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II and Sikandar 'Adil Shah became sovereigns during their minority. The peculiarity of the regency under Isma'il 'Adil Khan and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was that both ultimately succeeded in ousting their Regents to assume full powers, but Sikandar 'Adil Shah was so demoralised that he did not dare to do so. Even when he had attained his majority, the regency had become an integral



part of the administration; the person of the Regent could be ousted but not the institution. After the death of the Regent Aqa Khusrau (October 1684), none of the nobles was willing to assume the regency owing to the hopeless inefficiency of the administration and the threat of Mughal aggression. Therefore, Sikandar 'Adil Shah had himself to shoulder the responsibilities of government as the last resort and within two years, his dynasty was extirpated.

For purposes of discussion of the regency in Bijapur, it would be more feasible to divide this section into two parts, the first dealing with five Regents, viz., Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi under Isma'il 'Adil Khan and the Regents Kamil Khan, Haji Kishwar Khan, Ikhlas Khan Habshi and Dilawar Khan Habshi under Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II; the second dealing with four Regents Khwas Khan Habshi, Bahlol Khan Lodi, Sidi Mas'ud and Aqa Khusrau in the regime of Sikandar 'Adil Shah. In the first part, the Regents were often restrained by the powerful influences from the royal seraglio. For example, Punji Khatun versus Kamal Khan Deccani and Chand Sultana versus the Regents Kamil Khan, Haji Kishwar Khan, Ikhlas Khan Habshi and Dilawar Khan Habshi, though ultimately Dilawar Khan Habshi succeeded in ousting her. Almost every Regent (in the first part) thought of executing his Ward in order to seize kingship



for himself and in a bid to achieve this object, he even stooped to beg help from the neighbouring states, but in the second part, these features are conspicuous by their absence. In this period, there was hardly any attempt to interfere in the administration by the royal harem; the Regents never tried to win the kingship for themselves, but they used it as a means for the consolidation of their own power, that age witnessed the decadence of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty and the Regents invariably exerted themselves to save it from extinction.

#### Part I. Powers and Functions of the Regent:-

Royal Seal:-The royal seal was the most important possession of every Regent, as without it, his orders did not possess any validity. The situation took an abnormal turn<sup>1</sup>, when in the reign of the minor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, the Regent Haji Kishwar Khan had decamped with the royal seal and his successor - the Regent Ikhlas Khan Habshi was left with nothing to authenticate his orders. This caused great trouble and confusion in the kingdom. At Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi's suggestion a way out of the difficulty was found. Another seal made of an agate from Yaman on which was engraved Asad Ullah<sup>2</sup> ul-Ghalib 'Ali bin Abu Talib, was utilised to control the situation.

After sometime, Haji Kishwar Khan was killed, the royal seal

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1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi. B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 108a.

2. Ibid.



was recovered and sent back to the capital.

Khutba:-The Khutba had to be read in the name of the minor king and the Regent could not insert his own name in it but undoubtedly his conduct determined the nature of the Khutba for the king. If the Regent was a Sunni, he would see to it that the Khutba read for the king was in accordance with the Sunni beliefs and the same applied mutatis mutandis if he was a Shi'a. Yusuf 'Adil Khan was the first ruler in the history of Muslim India to have his Khutba read in the names of the Twelve Imams and the Regent Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi, immediately on his inauguration (1510) had it replaced by a Sunni Khutba.<sup>1</sup> Out of four Regents under Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II two, Kamil Khan and Haji Kishwar Khan, were Shi'a and they did not temper with the Shi'a Khutba as in use in their times, but the remaining two Regents, Ikhlas Khan Habshi and Dilawar Khan Habshi, were Sunnis, the probable reasons for Ikhlas Khan not tempering with the Shi'a Khutba were his own precarious position and his preoccupation with the internal disorders, his successor Dilawar Khan Habshi, a very strong willed and a successful person, did abolish the Shi'a Khutba and had it replaced by the Sunni one (1583).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 24.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 190, 213.



Appointments to state services and the conferment of Jagirs:-

It was the misuse of his power of making appointments and conferring jagirs that reduced every Regent to being a mere party leader and not an accredited representative of the crown. His main aim during the tenure of his office was to further the interests of his own clique at the cost of those who did not see eye to eye with him in order to make his own position unchallengeable. Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi had set the ball rolling in this respect.<sup>1</sup> If any 'Adil Shahi Amir died or was punished for any offence, his jagir was confiscated and given over to the Regent's own men. On the death of Darya Khan and Fakhru'l-Mulk, their jagirs were distributed amongst Darab Khan's men; the jagirs of two other grandees, Haidar Beg and Mirza Jahangir, were greatly reduced and the portions thus acquired were given over to his own men. Haji Kishwar Khan also endeavoured to strengthen his own position by giving key-posts to his own people.<sup>2</sup> Thus his son Kamal Khan was made Sar Sar i Naubat<sup>3</sup> and the brother Mughal Khan was promoted to be Sar i Knail.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Dilawar Khan Habshi extended patronage to his own supporters on a large scale.<sup>5</sup> He promoted all his sons to higher positions; the

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, p. 24.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 161, 167.

3. vide chapter v.

4. vide chapter v.

5. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 189.



eldest son Muhammad Khan was appointed tutor of the minor king, the second son was honoured by being made a companion of the king in the game of polo, the third son Hairat Khan was appointed to be a courtier of the Shah and the fourth son was appointed as the Qil'adar of Bijapur. All four sons held the ranks of 2,000 suwar each, whereas Dilawar Khan Habshi was the rank-holder of 6,000 suwar. He appointed Sar i Pardehdars<sup>1</sup> of the royal palace from amongst his own men. In order to hold his Ward under his rigid control, most of the Shah's servants were Dilawar Khan's men and even the midwives of the palace were the spies of the Regent.<sup>2</sup>

But it should not be assumed that the appointments, promotions etc. made by these <sup>so-called</sup> party leaders were at all permanent. They usually lasted only while the 'benefactor' remained in power. With his demotion, the hierarchy of his lackeys and favourites also crumbled. The Regent would lose his life and the same fate awaited most of his henchmen.<sup>3</sup> His property was confiscated by the new Regent and his followers fared no better.

Arbitrary Actions:-The guiding motive of every Regent, that of strengthening his position by any means fair or foul, manifested

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1. vide chapter v.

2. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 117b.

3. For details, see Ferishta Briggs), II, pp. 25-30, 92 and Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 156, 170-71.



itself in many arbitrary actions. He considered the state treasury his private property and cases are on record when he misappropriated large sums from the government treasury without any scruples of conscience. Kamil Khan removed several boxes full of valuable articles from the Treasury to some unknown destination.<sup>1</sup> Haji Kishwar Khan, when ousted from the regency, managed to decamp with sixty pearl rosaries and two or three boxes of precious jewels,<sup>2</sup> and even the inmates of the royal seraglio were not immune from his activities. In order to please his followers, he distributed concubines of the royal seraglio amongst them.<sup>3</sup> His predecessor Kamil Khan had also laid his hands on the concubines of the royal palace. These women used to receive pay every three months. Kamil Khan ordered that he would henceforth pay them personally inside the royal seraglio. By this trick, he selected twenty women amongst them,<sup>4</sup> and brought them into his own Harem. He even cast amorous glances at the Queen-Mother Chand Sultana.<sup>5</sup> The Regent Dilawar Khan Habshi became so drunk with power that even at the age of seventy, he forcibly removed the beautiful young daughter of a certain noble to his palace<sup>6</sup> not caring

1. Futuhāt i 'Adil Shāhi, Fuzuni Astrabadi, BM Ms Add 27251, f. 149a.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 168.

3. Futuhāt i 'Adil Shāhi, op. cit. f. 159a.

4. Ibid. f. 150a.

5. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 101a.

6. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol. 3. ed. Sir W. Haig. Calcutta, 1925. p. 354.



at all for the bitter feelings bound to result from this action.

What happened to these women when the Regent fell from power is not known; loss of office probably meant loss of the pleasure of their company as well.

However, the most ignoble deed perpetrated by Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi was his surrendering Goa to the Portuguese in order to make his own regency safe.<sup>1</sup> He had also sought the help of Qasim Barid of Bidar for the same end.<sup>2</sup>

Claims to Kingship:-These absolute powers seem to have corrupted every Regent absolutely. Almost every Regent, after having consolidated his position by jobbery, endeavoured to grasp the kingship for himself.<sup>3</sup>

Checks on the Regent:-Though the Regent was very powerful, yet there were two factors which, when combined together, constituted a serious menace to his safety. The claim to kingship by the Regent, if successful, would mean the perpetuation of the reign of jobbery and inequity ushered in by the party in power. That the opposing factions could not tolerate for their own safety and security. Usually the Queen-Mother set the opposition in order to get rid of a turbulent Regent. For example, when Kamal Khan Deccani thought of killing his Ward and

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1. Basatinu's ~~Salatin~~, p.27.

2. ibid. p.28.

3. The only exception was Ikhlas Khan Habshi and the possible reason for this particular conduct was not loyalty to the Shah, but his own precarious position.



becoming the sovereign himself, it was the Queen-Mother Punji Khatun who saved the situation. On the one hand, she instigated Kaka, a Turkish slave, to assassinate the Regent and on the other, she won over the bulk of the Pardesi nobles by her frantic appeals to them to remain true to ~~the salt of~~ their master.<sup>1</sup> When Kamil Khan was contemplating capturing the kingship, the Queen-Mother Chand Sultana secretly and successfully persuaded all the opposition nobles to join Haji Kishwar Khan in a bid to oust Kamil Khan.<sup>2</sup> When the Regent Haji Kishwar Khan in turn started behaving like a despot and feared that Chand Sultana would be a stumbling block in his path, he had her imprisoned.<sup>3</sup> The Habshi Umara disgusted with his reign of terror, rose up in arms against him and had him demoted.<sup>4</sup> The Habshi Regent Ikhlas Khan was a formidable personality and the Pardesi opposition dared not try to oust him. Strangely enough, he was superseded by a man of his own clique Dilawar Khan Habshi.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, the supersession of Dilawar Khan Habshi was managed by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II who had by now attained his majority and was disgusted with the rigid control of the Regent over him. It was with the help of the

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.29.

2. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. ff. 101a-108a.

3. Futuhāt i 'Adil Shahi, BM Ms Add 27251, f. 158b.

4. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.168.

5. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol.3. p.351



opposition nobles, notably 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kin'ani, Ankas Khan and 'Ali Khan, that he succeeded in becoming a full-fledged king in 1589<sup>1</sup>.

### Second Phase of Regency 1672-84:-

In this period, four Regents ruled, namely, <sup>2</sup>Khwās Khan Habshi (1672-75), 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi (1675-77), <sup>\*\*</sup>Sidi Mas'ud (1677-83) and Aqa Khusrau (March 1684-October 1684). Thus out of twelve years, nine and a half were monopolised by the Habshi Regents. The general characteristic of the Habshi regime was its unstinted loyalty to the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty and its endeavours to save the kingdom from absorption by the Mughals. One possible explanation for this conduct was their fear that with the extinction of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty, their own position would be doomed. In Bijapur and indeed in all the contemporary Muslim states, the Habshis had been afforded opportunities to distinguish themselves as Governors of provinces, Commanders of armies and even Regents of kingdoms,<sup>2</sup> whereas in the North, they were utilised merely as household slaves or palace eunuchs. Under the Mughals, a Habshi at best could not rise higher than the post of a Kotwal. It is interesting to find that even the non-Habshi Regents like

1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 124a.

2. Their position in ~~the~~ Bengal has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

\*\* .An Habshi amir was also called Sidi. (*Wilm's Glossary, p. 482*)



'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi never lagged behind in his endeavours to save the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty from extinction for the simple reason that he was the son of a deserter from the Mughals, Bahlol Khan Lodi, formerly a Mughal Mansabdar of 3,000 and a deserter of Shah Jahan under the leadership of Khan Jahan Lodi. Thus 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi could enjoy more powers and privileges by serving the 'Adil Shah than by going over to the Mughals, where he would be a comparatively insignificant person. Aqa Khusrau, another non-Habshi Regent, though he ruled for a few months, seems to have continued the policy of his predecessors.

It is against this background that one should study the problems of regency under Sikandar 'Adil Shah. 'Ali 'Adil Shah II wanted his trusted minister 'Abdu'l-Muhammad to act as the Regent for the five years old Sikandar, but he refused on the ground that the post was too dangerous - as had been amply evident from the history of the earlier regents.<sup>1</sup> Instead he suggested<sup>2</sup> that during the regency period, the kingdom should be divided into four administrative units. The North-Eastern region with the forts of Gulbarga, Shahdrug and their adjacent parts, which should be placed under his charge so that he could prevent the Mughal onslaughts; the Western region

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1. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, f. 34a.

2. Ibid. f. 34b.



including the forts of Miraj and Panala to be made over to 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi who should resist the Marathas, the Southern region with the newly conquered places around Bidnur should be given over to Muzaffar Khan and the capital with its suburbs under the charge of Khawas Khan Habshi, the Regent. The Shah consented to this and Khawas Khan Habshi solemnly promised that he would carry this arrangement into effect after his inauguration.

When Kh<sup>a</sup>was Khan Habshi assumed the regency in 1672, 'Abdu'l-Muhammad reminded him of the undertaking, but he went back on his word of honour.<sup>1</sup> This breach of faith was responsible for disorder throughout the kingdom and the chaos once started could not be stemmed, until the dynasty was no more. It worsened the relations between the Deccani and Pardesi nobles. It excited the greed of Bijapur's neighbours. Shivaji wanted to annex the whole kingdom<sup>2</sup> and the Mughals too aimed at absorbing her gradually. Even Subordinate chiefs like the Rajas of Sonda and Bidnur dared to invade the Bijapur territory early in 1673. In this way, the task of the Regent was not only to control the opposing factions at home, but also to thwart her neighbours. A very strong willed regent was

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1. Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, BM Ms Add 26270, f.35a.

2. Nuskha i Dilkusha, Bhem Sen. BM Ms Or 23, f.62b.



needed to weather the storm, but no regent, essentially a party man, could rise above party and so the regency contributed to the maladministration of the kingdom which led to her extinction.

Regency - merely a rule of cliques:-The chequered history of regency in Bijapur shows clearly that the Regent was essentially a party leader devoted to the best interests of his own clique. The Regent Khawas Khan Habshi, in a desperate bid to crush his local rivals, sought the help of Bahadur Khan the Mughal Governor of the Deccan. The latter gladly accepted this opportunity to interfere in the politics of Bijapur and offered him every help. This undertaking was further cemented<sup>1</sup> by the marriage of the daughter of Khawas Khan Habshi with Nusrat Khan the son of Bahadur Khan. The interference of the Mughals once sought by the Regent became a regular feature in the subsequent history of Bijapur and brought disastrous consequences in its wake. When 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi heard of these intrigues against him, he pretended friendship with him, invited him to a dinner and had him arrested.<sup>2</sup> In this way, the Habshi Regent was arrested and later executed, and the Afghans under Bahlol Khan Lodi seized the regency.

1. Nuskha i Dilkusha, BM Ms Or 23, f. 64a.

2. Ibid, ff. 64a-b.



The new Regent 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi<sup>1</sup> could not expect any favour from the Mughals and fearing an open rupture, started consolidating his own position. He harassed and dismissed the Habshi and Deccani nobles and gave their posts to his own men. He also monopolised the best jagirs for his followers and soon gathered round him 12,000 Afghans as his henchmen. This policy of discrimination aroused the bitterest animosity of his opponents and they fought several pitched battles against him. Their leader Sharza Khan approached the Mughal Governor Bahadur Khan for help. The help was promptly given and ultimately the Regent had to surrender the forts of Ahsanabad and Naldrug to the Mughals.<sup>2</sup> This was the penalty of the factional strife.

On the death of 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi, the Habshis again came into power. The regency of Sidi Mas'ud, the powerful jagirdar of Karnul was most calamitous throughout. The Afghan faction flouted his authority and in spite of his best endeavours he could not cope with the situation. Much fuel was added to the fire when a split occurred within his own party. Sharza Khan fell out with him and was chiefly responsible for undermining the authority of his leader.

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1. Nuskha i Dilkusha, BM Ms Or 23, f.62b.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.452.



These developments convinced Sidi Mas'ud of his incapacity to rule and in 1683 he resigned.<sup>1</sup>

The new Regent Aqa Mas'ud ruled from March 1684 to October 1684. He found it impossible to affect an improvement in the situation and soon died, probably from over-anxiety.

Misgovernment.— With the regency of Khawas Khan Habshi, an era of misgovernment was ushered into the kingdom for the remainder of its independent existence. Over-intoxicated with his power, he stopped taking any keen interest in the daily business of the state and left his wife Habiba Sultana solely in charge of it. She, though a good administrator without any doubt, could not command implicit obedience from the nobles, as to obey a woman was considered very degrading in that age. Such a situation contributed to laxity and indiscipline everywhere.<sup>2</sup>

The Regent 'Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi greatly contributed to the process of maladministration by his policy of nepotism, which produced general disorder throughout the kingdom. The Mughals and the Qutb Shah were tempted to interfere in the domestic affairs of Bijapur and ultimately it cost the regent his office.

With the coming of Sidi Mas'ud, the situation took a turn

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, the discussion based on pp.459-524.

2. Ibid, p.447.



for the worse. He had gained the regency with the support of troops from Qutb Shah and as soon as the latter withdrew his help, Sidi Mas'ud's government fell to pieces. His powerlessness can be gauged from the fact that his Harem and children were kidnapped by Aqa Khusrau, the jagirdar of Raichur and it was only on the intercession of Padshah Bibi (sister of Sikandar 'Adil Shah) that they were restored to him.<sup>1</sup>

Aqa Khusrau, the successor-regent, who ruled for barely seven months, could fare no better as the head of the administration.

Foreign Policy:-The traditional policy of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty was to maintain its independence against the Mughal onslaughts and to support fellow Deccani rulers, whenever their existence was in jeopardy from the Mughals. The method employed was to maintain friendly relations with the Mughals trying as far as possible to avoid any provocation to them.

Relations with the Mughals:- It was an open secret that the Mughals wanted to annex Bijapur and the 'Adil Shahs usually endeavoured to escape this by means of cajolery, persuasion and presenting gifts to the Emperor. The Regents also did the same. They wanted to avoid the destruction of the royal house at any cost. Khawas Khan Habshi- already well known for his victories over the Marathas<sup>2</sup> - in order to please the Mughals

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin.pp.465-67.

2. Ibid.p.402.



undertook to lead a campaign against Shivaji and to have Padshah Bibi married with prince A'zam<sup>1</sup> son of Aurangzeb on a clear understanding with Bahadur Khan that the Mughal Government recognised Sikandar 'Adil Shah as an independent ruler; that it would henceforth address him as Sultan and that the Bijapur Government be exempted from presenting gifts every <sup>2</sup> year. This treaty of Gulbarga was confirmed by Aurangzeb and Khawas Khan Habshi was also given the title of Nawazish Khan. This brings out the sense of loyalty Khawas Khan Habshi had for his royal master. Before, however, the terms of this treaty could be carried out, the Regent was ousted from power by the Afghan faction.

The new regent Abdu'l-Karim Bahlol Khan Lodi, being the son of a rebel against the Mughals was very cold towards them. Bahadur Khan could not tolerate his installation to power. He ordered him to resign and on his refusal, he was attacked, but the Mughals could not make any substantial progress.

Diler Khan, second in command of Bahadur Khan, was an Afghan and a bosom friend of the Regent. He encouraged the Afghan

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1. The matrimonial alliance seems very strange. Padshah Bibi was the daughter of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II - the very person whom Aurangzeb had dubbed in 1656 as of obscure origin ( *مجهول النسب* ) vide Adab i 'Alamgiri, BM Ms Or 177, ff. 107b, 109b. Had Aurangzeb believed in the genuineness of this charge, it is difficult to believe how he would have sought her hand for his son. His official history 'Alamgir Nama (ed. Maulvi Khadim Husain, Calcutta, 1868) on page 576 explicitly mentioned 'Ali 'Adil Shah as the son of Muhammad 'Adil Shah and thus bluntly negated this charge of its royal master.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin. pp. 442-443.



supremacy and disliked the leanings of Bahadur Khan towards the Deccani party.<sup>1</sup> This split within the Mughal ranks gave a new lease of life to the regency of Bahlol Khan Lodi, but his early death in 1677 prevented him from gaining any more support from Diler Khan.

Sidi Mas'ud, the successor of Bahlol Khan Lodi to <sup>the</sup> regency, soon incurred the wrath of Diler Khan and Bijapur was invaded. The Regent tried to retrieve the situation by enforcing the defunct treaty of Gulbarga and had the princess Padshah Bibi married to prince A'zam in 1679. Even this submission did not help matters. Diler Khan wanted Sidi Mas'ud to resign from ~~the~~ regency altogether and hand over its charge to a creature of the Mughals. This the Regent flatly refused, as it was tantamount to betraying the sovereignty of Sikandar 'Adil Shah, the very idea of which he would not entertain. The devastating invasion of Bijapur by Diler Khan could not break the stiff opposition of the Bijapuris, Diler Khan was censured by the Emperor and was recalled (1680).

Relations with Golconda:- It was the traditional policy of the Deccani states to help one another, openly or secretly to suit the situation, against the Mughals. The maladministration of 1. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 451-52.



the regents was undermining the foundations of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty and was in fact a standing invitation to the Mughals. To avoid its extinction, several patriotic nobles of Bijapur appealed to Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah to mediate between them for the settlement of their disputes. The Qutb Shah agreed and advised Bahlol Khan Lodi to resign from the regency, which the former conferred on Sidi Mas'ud and for the settlement of disputes for the future, a resident from Golconda, Pandit Akanna was stationed at Bijapur. Bahlol Khan Lodi accepted this award unhesitatingly.<sup>1</sup> The Qutb Shah also agreed to pay six lakhs of Huns to the new Regent, so that he could clear the outstanding arrears of pay of the army. However, delay in its payment caused great confusion in Bijapur and the agreement was scrapped in disgust.

Relations with the Marathas:-The Bijapur Government had always viewed with contempt the rise of Shivaji, the son of their tributary, but with the passage of time, they began to treat him as a possible shield against the Mughals. But on seeing Bijapur in hopeless confusion, Shivaji himself wanted to conquer the whole kingdom and was on the look-out for an opportunity of doing so. This was fully understood by the L.Basatinu's-Salatin, p.454. This clearly exonerates him from the charge of being a tool of Diler Khan in any way.



ruling junta in Bijapur and they viewed him with grave suspicions whenever he offered them help against the Mughals. The rebellion of prince Akbar changed the whole course of events when he sought refuge with the Marathas. Sidi Mas'ud secretly helped the Marathas against the Mughals. This enraged Aurangzeb; Bijapur was invaded and in due course was conquered.

The curse of the regency in Bijapur was its party mindedness, its doing everything for the benefit of the clique in power to the exclusion of all others, but the redeeming feature was its desperate endeavours to save the 'Adil Shahi dynasty. If the regents could not prevent its extinction, at least they succeeded in prolonging its existence for a while.

#### Regency in Golconda:-

There was only one short-lived regency in the whole history of Golconda, for about two months in 1550. But that short period gave a bitter taste of the evils of this system.

Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk died in 1550 and was succeeded by his seven years old son Subhan Quli. The Queen Mother Bilqis Zaman won over the Pardesi nobles to her side and



decided that the best person for the regency was Saif Khan 'Ainu'l-Mulk, probably a scion of the Qutb Shahi royal family, who in a fit of anger with the deceased Qutbu'l-Mulk had gone away to Ahmadnagar.<sup>1</sup> Jagdev Rao, a Naikwari noble of Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, detested this move of the Queen Mother, as it meant a setback to his own ambition of becoming the Regent. Before Saif Khan 'Ainu'l-Mulk could fully settle himself as the Regent, Jagdev Rao quickly proceeded towards the fort of Bhongir in order to release Daulat Quli, the younger brother of Jamshid Quli so as to set him up as the sovereign. Jagdev Rao executed his plan successfully and to make his position stronger, requested help from Tufal Khan of Berar. But the Regent was more than a match. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined forces of Tufal Khan and Jagdev Rao.<sup>2</sup> The position of the Regent now became formidable. Intoxicated with power, he ushered in an era of nepotism and a reign of terror for his opponents. This exasperated the opposition and they invited prince Ibrahim, the youngest brother of Jamshid Quli, from Vijayanagar to become the ruler of Golconda.<sup>3</sup> The popularity of the prince can

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1. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM MS Add 6542, f. 89a.

2. Ibid. f. 89b.

3. Ibid. f. 90a.



be gauged from the fact that on hearing of his arrival, desertions on a large scale took place from the ranks of the Regent.<sup>1</sup> Mustafa Khan Ardistani and Salabat Khan - the grandees who had helped in the installation of Subhan Quli, also deserted him. It seems that even the masses did not appreciate the stop-gap arrangements of a regency and expressed their immense joy at its termination and at having a popular ruler in their midst.<sup>2</sup> The inscription on a pillar set up by the villagers of Koilkanda to register their welcome and solemn oaths of loyalty is a conspicuous example of their pleasure at Ibrahim's accession. The villagers consisted of all classes, for example, Karkuns, Naikwaris of the fort, artillerymen, blacksmiths, well-diggers, the guards, the Kavis, the bandmen etc.<sup>3</sup>

1. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f.92a.

2. Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology, Haidarabad, 1928-29. pp.23-24.

3. Ibid.



General Remarks:-The essential function of the state is the maintenance of law and order and this cannot be performed by an individual, however powerful he may be. He needs the help of several brains. Thus the existence of a council of advisers or a body of ministers is indispensable for the smooth running of the government. This remark is true in the case of every type of government in all ages of the history of man, and the states of Bijapur and Golconda were no exception to it.

The administrations of these states presented peculiar problems of their own. Throughout the sixteenth century, they were generally parcelled into jagirs and the problems mostly concerned the control of jagirdars by the central government. There was no necessity of having a large number of ministers to run the administration, but one powerful minister only - a confidant of the Shah was regarded sufficient for this purpose. He could have other ministers as well, but they were certainly inferior to him in all respects. Thus, as the ministers were few in number, the administration was essentially dominated by the jagirdars or the Umara, who acted as the counsellors of the ruler.<sup>1</sup> After the Battle of Talikota (1565), these states

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1. A parallel is afforded by the administration of the Lodis in the North, where the Afghan nobles dominated the administration to such an extent that there was no scope for ministers and their work.



gained tremendously in wealth, prestige and territory from the annihilation of the Hindu state of Vijayanagar and these gains gave rise to new problems of administration. The crown lands increased in number and had to be governed directly by the conquerors. In order to solve these problems, these states needed standing armies of their own, which they had hitherto lacked. With the innovation of standing armies at their back,<sup>1</sup> the states could dictate terms to every jagirdar and their powers were increasingly felt by them. Such a process involved the re-organisation of the central governments and the employment of several ministers and a large secretariat.

#### Central Government of Bijapur:-

As already stated, the system of government was simple in the sixteenth century history of this state. The Shah was the supreme power in the state, but in actual practice, his sovereignty was limited by the jagirdars, who acted as his counsellors or advisers. If the ruler possessed personality and keen intelligence, he could control the chiefs by playing off one against another, but if he was a minor, or did not fully devote himself to the affairs of the state, he was

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1. vide chapter on the Army.



dominated by them.<sup>1</sup> With the growth of the territories of the state after 1565 and the consequent increase in the Shah's prestige and powers, he began to transact the business of the state with the help of ministers who were placed in charge of various departments of the administration. These ministers held office during his pleasure only, but whenever the Shah's authority was weak, they assumed great importance.

Vakil, Peshwa or Vazir:-The highest officer of the state next to the Shah was the Vakil who in the sixteenth century was in charge of the whole administration.<sup>2</sup> In all matters civil or military, his advice was valued by the sovereign. Even in foreign affairs, his opinion carried weight. For example, in the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the Portuguese expressed their fear of the Vakil Mustafa Khan, as the Shah was led by his advice on matters concerning them and he was very hostile to them.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest mention of the office of Vakil is noticed, when Yusuf 'Adil Khan, on his death-bed appointed

1. The most conspicuous example of such ministerial domination occurred in the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I. Towards the end of his reign, the Shah became so devoted to sensual pleasures that his Vakil, Kamil Khan, ceased to take notice of his orders. Thus when a Sayyid had been oppressed and imprisoned by the Vakil, and his aged father, managing to approach the Shah, had secured his order for the Sayyid's release, the Vakil ignored the order. The Shah, approached a second time about the case, in his rage at finding his orders disregarded, publicly kicked the Vakil. After some time, the Shah forgave him and again the Vakil won his favours. But the Vakil never forgave him for the public insult and had him assassinated.

Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. ff. 82b, 93a.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, pp. 24, 52, 80, 85, 105.

3. Assentos do Conselho, II, pp. 549-55.



Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi as the Vakil of the minor Isma'il 'Adil Khan. The offices of Vikalat and regency vested in him made him the most powerful person in the realm.<sup>1</sup> He could dismiss any officer, confiscate any jagir or declare war or make peace without any hindrance. The next mention of the office of the Vakil is noticed, when under the instigation of his Vakil Yusuf Shahna, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I wanted to ruin Asad Khan Lari, the most powerful noble of the state.<sup>2</sup> But finding himself not strong enough to accomplish this openly, he resorted to under-hand methods. The office of Vikalat received a new lease of life when after the Battle of Talikota (1565), Mustafa Khan Ardistani<sup>3</sup> deserted Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah and joined the service of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I. He was the first Vakil in the history of Bijapur who was entrusted with the royal seal by the reigning ruler, so that he could issue orders on any measures he deemed fit in the best interests of the state. His Vikalat established beyond any doubt that the duties of his office were all-embracing; for example, acting as the head of civil and military administration, conquering new territories, realising tributes from the conquered states and last but not least, maintaining diplomatic relations with the leading powers

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1. vide last chapter.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 52.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 127-29, 136-37.



of the Muslim world. When, after some time, he earned the disfavour of the Shah, he was removed from the Vikalat; later <sup>he was</sup> on sent on an embassy to Ahmadnagar<sup>1</sup> and subsequently appointed as the governor of the newly conquered territories of the Carnatic.<sup>2</sup> His successor Afzal Khan Shirazi was a prodigy of the age. One of the eminent scholars of the times, he also made his mark as the first administrator of the kingdom and totally re-cast the machinery of the central government.<sup>3</sup> He introduced departmentalization in the administration, which was at that time a novelty.<sup>4</sup> It can be safely presumed that he was also entrusted with the royal seal for the authentication of government orders, as the famous remark of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I bears testimony to it. The remark was, "Ever since Afzal Khan Shirazi has assumed the charge of the administration, I have become free from all worries and in fact have tasted the

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1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. f. 79b.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 85.

3. H.K. Sherwani in his Bahmanis of the Deccan, Haidarabad, 1953, p. 433 has confused Afzal Khan Shirazi with Afzal Khan, the famous victim of the "iron-claws" of Shivaji. According to Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi, (his brother) Afzal Khan Shirazi was murdered in 1580 under the regency of Ikhlas Khan Habshi; vide Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, op.cit. f. 112b. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 99 and Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 178 have also confirmed this statement. Shivaji was born in 1627 and the episode of "iron-claws" took place in 1659, seventy nine years after the death of Afzal Khan Shirazi. H.K. Sherwani's in-accuracy is self-evident.

4. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, op.cit., ff. 83b-84b. For details of his administrative reforms, see the succeeding pages of this chapter.



pleasures of kingship".<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the Vakil tremendously increased, whenever the Shah was essentially a seeker after pleasure. For example, the Vakils Kamil Khan and 'Abdu'l-Muhammad under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II respectively assumed great importance when their royal masters preferred the pleasures of the Harem to the state duties.<sup>2</sup>

Until the sixteenth century, the term Vakil was always used for the official in charge of the administration, but Afzal Khan Shirazi was designated as the Peshwa.<sup>3</sup> This was probably due to the influence of the Queen Chand Sultana, formerly a princess from Ahmadnagar, where the term Peshwa and not Vakil was in vogue.<sup>4</sup>

The four successive regents under Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II were, however, called Vakils. The regent Ikhlas Khan Habshi introduced a further novelty. He, the Vakil, appointed Afzal Khan Shirazi as his Peshwa,<sup>5</sup> implying thereby that the Peshwaship was subordinate to the Vikalat. How the powers were divided between the two, we do not know. In 1589, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II began to rule personally; he appointed Rumi Khan as his Peshwa and also entrusted him with the royal

1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 80a.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 143, 434-35.

3. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, op.cit. f. 83b.

4. Rise of the Muslim Power in India, J. Briggs. vol. 3. p. 220 footnote. London, 1829.

5. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 99.



seal.<sup>1</sup> Thus it seems that in the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II the term Vakil was discarded and Peshwa came into vogue and actually the latter official exercised all the powers enjoyed by the former. In 1599 Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II made a change in the wording of the royal seal lying with his Peshwa. He considered the word Nauras very auspicious for him,<sup>2</sup> therefore, he had his own name deleted from it and replaced by the word Nauras.<sup>3</sup>

It seems that from the regency of Dilawar Khan Habshi (1580-88), the term Vakil was used sparingly and he also sometimes called himself Vazir.<sup>4</sup> The Vazir was originally a subordinate of the Vakil under the Bahmanis,<sup>5</sup> but it seems that the Vakil came to be known as Vazir in ~~the~~ seventeenth century Bijapur. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II who called Rumi Khan his Peshwa and not Vakil,<sup>later on</sup> addressed ~~later on~~ Ikhlas Khan Habshi alias Bare Khan - the occupant of the same office - as Vazir.<sup>6</sup> Under Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the possessor of this high post was designated as Vazir?<sup>7</sup> Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, all the three

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.214.

2. the reasons already discussed on pp.43,51.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.249.

4. Ibid. p.189.

5. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), XX vol.1. pp.636,663.

6. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.281.

7. Ibid. pp.348,363.



successive occupants of this office, Khan Muhammad, Ibrahim Khan and 'Abdu'l-Muhammad were addressed as Vazirs.<sup>1</sup> Under the minor Sikandar 'Adil Shah, the regent Khawas Khan Habshi was also called Vazir.<sup>2</sup> The popularity of the term Vazir amongst the Bijapuris seems to be due to the influence of the Mughals.

In this way, in Bijapur the designation Vakil changed into Peshwa and ultimately into Vazir, but the supreme importance of the office remained the same.

Mir Jumla:-Mir Jumla is the title of a post and is not a personal name as is often erroneously supposed. Literally it means the "Chief of collections" and actually this post was next in importance to that of the Vakil. The Mir Jumla received the annual payments by the jagirdars into the royal treasury and the revenues from the crown lands and those from the tributary states. He kept a vigilant eye on the accounts of the civil and military departments and also audited their expenditure. The existence of such a post, with such a control over the purse strings might have acted as a brake on the tremendous powers of the Vakil, but in the whole history of Bijapur, this post was held by the Vakil himself.

Yusuf Shahna<sup>3</sup> was the Vakil and Mir Jumla of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I. Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, both of his

1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 364.

2. Ibid. p. 437.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 52.



Vakils Mustafa Khan Ardistani and Afzal Khan Shirazi held the charge of Mir Jumlagi as well.<sup>1</sup> The regents under Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II also held the Mir Jumlagi.<sup>2</sup> The Mir Jumla ran the administration with the help of an officer called Mustafiu'l-Mulk, usually a Hindu, who also had a large staff of Hindu clerks under him. In those days, the work of maintaining accounts and records of revenues was in the hands of the Hindus.<sup>3</sup>

Organisation of the central government:- We have no data concerning the working of the central government before 1565. It is really with the coming of Afzal Khan Shirazi, as the Peshwa and the Mir Jumla that the process of departmentalisation was introduced into the administration and men of established reputation were appointed to take charge of them.<sup>4</sup> It would be correct to call these persons deputy ministers, as actually they were the delegates of the ~~Vakils~~ Peshwa, who was ultimately in charge of all departments. The following were the departments <sup>and offices</sup> created or newly organised by the Peshwa Afzal Khan Shirazi:-

The Sar Sar i Naubat, i.e., the commander in chief of the forces.

Mu'tabir Khan, who had previously acted for some time as a

1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.130,136.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 52, 80, 85, 99, 105.

3. Ibid, p.99.

4. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, ff. 83b-84b.



Peshwa, was appointed to this new post:

The Sar Khail: This officer was next in importance to Mir Jumla.

He was required to seek the advice of the Peshwa, whenever he was in difficulty about any problem.

'amal i Astifa: (the department meant for preparing the demand-sheets of revenue and the receipt of the whole that was due.

The officer in charge was called Majmu'adar. Latif Khan Nasa'i alias Wasli was appointed to it.

Muhimat i Kar i Mulki: In modern terminology, it may be called Home Department. In the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, Sayyid Sadr Jahan held its charge and he had employed 300 Brahman messengers and 700 spies scattered throughout the kingdom, so that the central government might be well-posted on all activities in the state. It was also the duty of these messengers to bring news from neighbouring countries.

The Hajib or Lord Chamberlain: He was a link between the Shah and the outside world, introducing ~~messengers~~ ambassadors and others persons to the sovereign. He interviewed all those who wished an audience with the Shah and admitted only those with genuine business to transact. He was required to know the relatives and friends of the Shah, so that he could admit them to him without any delay. Shaikh Nuru'd-din was appointed to this office.

The three posts of Akhwan i Salar<sup>1</sup> (taster to the prince)

1. He is usually called Chashnigir.



Khazanadari (state treasurer) and ~~the~~ supervisor of the palaces were conferred on Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi<sup>1</sup>.

These seven persons including the Peshwa ran the cen<sup>t</sup>ral government. The Peshwa had confirmed Mustafa Khan Ardistani and Kamil Khan - the two most prominent Umara in their jagirs. Murad Khan was appointed the Havaladar of the Konkan - a fertile territory of the realm.

What happened to this division of the administrative departments under the thoroughly demoralised regimes of the regents during the minority of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II? Our limited data does not help us to answer this question. One does hear of some of them under Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II when he was ruling personally. Aminu'l-Mulk Aqa Shirazi was in charge of <sup>the</sup> Muhammat i Mali and Sar Khaili<sup>2</sup> and later on, Dasu Pandit, who gave his daughter in marriage to the Shah was allowed <sup>to hold</sup> these two offices<sup>3</sup>. <sup>4</sup> Diyanat Khan ~~was~~ ~~holding~~ the department of Kar i Mulk. It is reasonable to assume that the Shah made full use of the administrative institutions under his Vazir Rumi Khan and Ikhlas Khan Habshi alias Bare Khan. That is why there was peace and prosperity in the country and he was able to devote

1. He is the celebrated author of Tazkiratu'l-Muluk - the work used extensively in this dissertation.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.281.

3. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. f. 116b.

4. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.281.



himself whole heartedly to the literary pursuits and fraternising with the Hindus. The reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah saw the zenith of his dynasty. The Dasturu'l-'amal said to have been enforced in his reign, though not mentioning these institutions specifically, did mention particularly that the motto of the government was peace, prosperity and efficiency, which could be secured by dividing the administration into various departments and making an incorruptible Vazir ultimately in charge of them.

This whole establishment required a secretariat for the maintenance of its records. Though our sources are silent on this aspect of the matter, one can reasonably assume that a central Record Office did exist in the capital. The peculiarity of 'Adil Shahi Farmans <sup>was</sup> that the originals were always required to be kept at the capital and the addressee was directed to return them after taking a copy thereof.

Immediately below and after the Vazir and his deputy ministers in importance, there was the Kotwal<sup>1</sup> charged with the function of maintaining law and order in the capital.<sup>2</sup> He was responsible for the safety and security of the citizens and their property. He was required to make several rounds in the city particularly at night to keep a vigilant eye on the Kotwal originally Kotpal is a word of Hindi derivation; Kot means fort and Pal means guardian.  
2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 354.



law-breakers and to have them dealt with according to the Shari'a. He was also responsible for the care and legitimate disposal of the heirless property. He controlled the serais as well. He was empowered to settle trifling disputes between the people.

It seems that he possessed a sufficient force at his disposal. It was the loyalty of Jit Khan, the Kotwal of Bijapur and his forces that facilitated the peaceful accession of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I.<sup>1</sup>

The Amin:—Next to the Kotwal, there was the Amin,<sup>2</sup> who was in charge of the income and expenditure of the city. He used to collect the customs on the imports and exports. It was also his important duty to see that no contraband articles ~~were~~<sup>were</sup> brought into the city, for example, tobacco, which was a monopoly of the state.

A Qazi was also posted in the city to administer justice according to the Shari'a. A Khatib for the Jami' Mosque and Sadr were appointed to perform religious functions.

Administration of Justice:—The 'Adil Shahs took pride in calling themselves the dispensers of justice, but our scanty data does not help us to understand the organisation of the judiciary in this kingdom. The Qazi administered cases in

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1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, ff. 36b-37a.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 352.



consultation with the Mufti. It can be presumed that the disputes between the Hindus concerning property, debts, lands etc. were decided according to their own law. The Shah of course was the highest court of appeal in all matters. In order to ensure that even-handed justice <sup>was</sup> ~~XX~~ imparted to all, Muhammad 'Adil Shah built the magnificent Dad Mahal<sup>1</sup> with a bell which any oppressed person could ring <sup>so that</sup> ~~XXX~~ its sound reached the innermost recesses of the Shah's palace. In this way, the plaintiff's grievance was heard and redressed. It was, however, made clear that the Dad Mahal should be approached only as a last resort, when the local authorities had failed to impart justice. How far the Dad Mahal acted as a check on the arbitrary decisions of the local officers, we do not know. But certainly it was a sort of check on them.

There was no prison system in the kingdom of Bijapur and the culprits were either fined, mutilated or sentenced to death according to the seriousness of the offence. Only in exceptional cases, for instance, treason or grave threat to the state, <sup>were</sup> the culprits ~~were~~ imprisoned in a fort.

With the death of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the glory of the

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 354-55. It appears that the Shah borrowed this idea of Dad Mahal from Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and the latter gained it from Nausherwan, but in order to show originality, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah had not fixed the bell on his Dad Mahal.



dynasty departed. The first ten years of the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II were marred by Mughal aggression and naturally the work of administration was subordinated to military needs; later on, the Shah devoted himself exclusively to sensual pleasures. During this period, three of his Vazirs, Khan Muhammad, Ibrahim Khan and 'Abdu'l-Muhammad successively ran the administration. The reign of Sikandar 'Adil Shah was calamitous for the dynasty. The unscrupulous regents by their egoistic activities sapped the vitality of the government, which was wiped out by Aurangzeb in 1686.

Majlis i Kingash:-In addition to the ministers, who helped the Shah in running the day to day administration of the state, during periods of emergency when the very existence of his sovereignty was in danger, the Shah used to summon the Majlis i Kingash for consultation. It consisted of the ministers, high ranking civil and military officers and jagirdars, both Hindus and Muslims. It was purely an advisory body. The Shah though not bound to accept its advice, often agreed to act upon it. The following are the most conspicuous instances of its meetings:-

When 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was preparing to fight the historic Battle of Talikota (1565), he summoned the grandees of the kingdom for consultation. They advised him that unless the



Muslim rulers of the Deccan presented a united front against Ramaraj, the latter would not be annihilated. The advice was fully appreciated by the Shah.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad 'Adil Shah had incurred the wrath of Shah Jahan, as the former had arrogated to himself those prerogatives, which violated the paramountcy of the latter; for example, witnessing elephant fights in the open Darbar and granting the unique title of Khan i Khanan to one of his nobles. Muhammad 'Adil Shah was directed to offer an apology, otherwise his country would be subjugated by the Mughals. The Shah after a protracted consultations with his Majlis i Kingash, yielded to the Emperor.<sup>2</sup>

When Mirza Raja Jai Singh, in 1666, was lying encamped on the frontiers of Bijapur for aggressive purposes, 'Ali 'Adil Shah II summoned the Majlis i Kingash to prepare a plan of action.<sup>3</sup>

Diplomatic Relations:-The Muslim rulers of the Deccani states used to have an exchange of ambassadors among themselves and often endeavoured to strengthen their relations by means of matrimonial ties. On the eve of the Battle of Talikota, a network of matrimonial alliances was arranged to cement their

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta, II, 71.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 343-45.

3. 'Ali Nama, Nusrati. BM Ms Add 26527, f. 111a.



relations. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was married to the princess Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar (this princess was later on the famous Queen Chand Sultana, who made her mark in history for bravery and heroism) and his sister Hadiya Sultan was wedded to prince Murtaza, the eldest son of Husain Nizam Shah<sup>1</sup>. Bibi Jumal, another daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, was married to Ibrahim Qutb Shah<sup>2</sup>.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah married his sister Chand Bibi to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II in order to improve their relations.<sup>3</sup> At a later date when Muhammad 'Adil Shah had emerged as the strongest Muslim ruler of the Deccan, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah arranged for the marriage of his sister Khadija Sultan Shahr Bano (afterwards known as Bare Sahiba) to the Bijapuri ruler.<sup>4</sup>

Though these marriages were mainly aimed to strengthen the relations between the Muslim rulers, ultimately they generally failed in their object. Community of interests, community of religion and frequent inter-marriages were alike powerless to suppress the ambitions of these rulers, as each of them aspired to the hegemony of the Deccan. The assistance given to an ally was so limited that he was prevented from overwhelming his adversary. This is the main characteristic

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 72.

2. Ibid. II, 335.

3. Ibid. II, 339.

4. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol. 1. p. 31.



of their mutual relations. The history of these states is a painful record of endless hostilities and so many battles fought for the sake of supremacy.

The other power with which these Muslim rulers had to reckon were the Portuguese. They had secured control of much of the coastline of the Deccan and were masters of the Indian Ocean. By their command of the sea, the Portuguese threatened the movement of pilgrims to Mecca, the trade in horses essential to the maintenance of the Deccani rulers' cavalry forces, and even the free movement of Pardesi Muslims coming to seek employment in the Deccan. This dominant position the Portuguese exploited by insisting that all ships navigating in Indian Waters, must carry the passes or cartazes which, for a consideration, they supplied. These Muslim rulers trying but after failing to dislodge the Portuguese by force, had to accept their position of dependence, maintain diplomatic relations with Goa, and seek Portuguese friendship. Thus these rulers had very often to apply for permits for their ships to sail, and had also to undertake not to bring the prohibited articles, for example, pepper, arms and other ammunitions of war.<sup>1</sup> An ambassador of the 'Adil Shah resided at <sup>Goa.</sup>

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1. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Eng tr. Longworth Dames. Hakulyt, London, 1918. vol.2. p.227.



Sources of Income:-The most important source of income was the land revenue, which was generally collected by the jagirdars, who paid a fixed amount to the state treasury and pocketed the rest. In the crown lands, it was collected by the state officials from the village Headmen, who gathered it from their fellow villagers. This process will be discussed in detail in the chapter on the Local Government.

The state owned fifteen diamond mines,<sup>1</sup> though we have no means to know their precise yield. In the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, when the Mughals were the dominant factor in the Deccan either to avoid their greed or probably to prevent ~~large~~ large stones from becoming too numerous, only the mines yielding the smallest stones were allowed by the Shah to be worked.<sup>2</sup> Most of the places where the mines were situated had very obscure names and the present writer has failed to locate them.

Customs from the ports formed another source of income, though no statistical survey of their yield has come down to us.

An epigraphical evidence shows that at Debal until 1651, if any Hindu died without leaving a son, his property was confiscated by the state and that . . .

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1. Travels in India, J.B. Tavernier. Eng tr. V. Ball, ed. W. Crooke. OUP, 1925. vol. 2, pp. 352-54.  
2. Ibid.



this practice was stopped by Muhammad 'Adil Shah<sup>in that year</sup><sup>1</sup> In Debal, the rich Hindu trading community lived and the state must have been getting a large income from this source till its abolition in 1651.

W.Elliot has greatly enlightened us by reproducing forty four 'Adil Shahi Farmans issued at various times. These Farmans contained awards of jagirs to various persons who were also given the rights of collecting various taxes from the cultivators. They display vividly the heavy burden of taxes imposed on the masses. The following were the most conspicuous exactions:-

Bit o Bigari<sup>2</sup> or forced labour, for which no or only nominal remuneration was paid, was utilised for deepening lakes, digging canals, constructing roads, providing wood for the royal camp etc.

Zar i Pilgi or a tax for the maintenance of the state elephants. Paposhi, it is difficult to identify this tax. Probably it was paid in kind by the shoe-makers, who were given the special privilege of paying their dues in kind.

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1.M.Nazim,"An inscription from Dabhol".Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,1933,pp.9-10.

2. Escheat system was also practised in the Vijayanagar Empire, where the property of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas was confiscated by the state if they died without a son. vide Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, T.V.Mahalingam.Madras,1940.p.73.

2.W.Elliot Collection,I.O.Mss Eur F 50.Farmans 11,14,26 and 27. It was also practised in the Vijayanagar Empire. vide p.72. Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar,op.cit.



Jangtin was a tax imposed at times to meet the expenses of war (though the Farmans do not mention any particular war).

Mohim Pati or the expedition cess.

Zar i Pati Sikka i Humayun. This was a tax imposed when allowing private individuals to mint coins at their homes.

Kar i 'Imarat was a tax for erecting or repairing royal buildings.

Nausil Bail. This was a tax imposed on the people for the maintenance of the artillery bullocks of the state.

Chaparbandi was a tax for erecting temporary coverings for government grain or other public property.

Sang i Sanguti was a tax on cattle.

Mizbani or entertainment tax. Whenever any distinguished visitor visited the state, the hospitality cost a lot of money. For example, the Safavid ambassadors were always very expensive guests and the cost was borne by the masses.

Farma'ishi was a tax generally levied for purchasing local products ordered by the Shah.

Faski was a tax on green vegetable sellers. In fact, there was a professional tax on all the shopkeepers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The discussion of the above thirteen taxes is based on the W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farmans nos. 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 37 and 42.

An 'Adil Shahi inscription mentioned the abolition of professional tax on the barbers, but the date and the name of the sovereign under whom the order was issued, cannot be deciphered. Notes on the Buildings and other antiquarian remains, Henry Cousens. Bombay, 1890. pp. 99-100, transcript no. 818.



These 'Adil Shahi Farmans (already referred to) do not at all discuss the incidence and rates of the taxes. They also say nothing about the raising or lowering of these taxes. There was no state department meant for their collection, as they were generally farmed out and under an unscrupulous farmer, the masses could be oppressed to a greater extent. Under Muhammad 'Adil Shah<sup>1</sup> and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II<sup>2</sup>, an important change was made in the system. Under these rulers the taxes on tobacco and betel leaves were collected in both the crown lands and jagirs by state officials only who paid them directly into the state treasury.

The tributary chiefs were also tax-farmers in a sense, as they paid only a fixed tribute and pocketed the rest of the collection themselves.

War booty was another source of occasional income. The huge booty gained by the Muslim rulers of the Deccan after their victory at Talikota (1565) can better be imagined than described.

Besides the sources of income enumerated above, gifts also formed an important source of the income of the Shah. On the occasions of his birthday, coronation and Darbar, the courtiers had to present expensive gifts to their sovereign.

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur.F.50. Farman 26.

2. Ibid. Farman 42.



Any noble who was granted audience by the Shah even after a short absence, had to present a gift in accordance with his status.

No estimate is given by the contemporary writers of the annual income of the state. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, on the basis of the figures given in the Asaf Jahi register has<sup>1</sup> calculated it as under:- (for the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah).

Income from the crown lands:	Rupees 78461870
<u>Peshkash</u> from the 22 tributary states:	52561649
Income from 11 ports:	96500
Total:	<u>131,120,019.</u>

It can be presumed that the crown lands here mentioned also included jagirs, which the Shah sometimes granted to his favourites and at times converted again into crown lands. Income from the crown lands consisted of land revenue, mines and the thirteen taxes enumerated above. This income was generally fluctuating, but the Peshkash from the 22 tributaries was invariably fixed. Income from the port towns included not only the custom duties, but also the thirteen taxes mentioned above.

A Misunderstanding Removed:- Contrary to the usual belief that in the medieval monarchical system, privy purse and government

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 347-48. Also see chapter VII.

We have no means of verifying these figures, which were compiled by Mirza Zubairi from sources no longer available in these days. Nor is any comparison with British revenue figures of much utility since we do not know the proportions of crown and jagir lands, and many Bijapuri taxes were abolished by the British.



treasury were one and the same thing, I.H.Qureshi has formulated the thesis that they were quite distinct from one another as far as the Deccani Muslim rulers were concerned.<sup>1</sup> In support of his contention, he has cited an incident in the life of Isma'il 'Adil Khan who commanded one-half of the villages set apart for the support of his wardrobe and kitchen to be allotted to the army, for economy in his personal expenditure was necessary to maintain the troops. According to this author,<sup>2</sup> an understanding had always existed that in the event of the exhaustion of the government treasury, the privy purse could be drawn upon to meet the situation. This conclusion is based on the English translation of Tarikh i Ferishta (Rise of the Muslim Power in India, J.Briggs.vol.3,p.55.Bombay,1829).

A perusal of the original Tarikh i Ferishta, BM Ms Add 6570, relevant folio 137a and the two published Persian editions of the same,<sup>3</sup> shows the total absence of the reference quoted by I.H.Qureshi from its English translation by J.Briggs. It is really strange that J.Briggs, who had also edited the Persian text of Tarikh i Ferishta, could not find this important reference in the original source, but made an addition apparently on his own authority of this passage in his

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1.The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli.2nd Edition, Lahore.1944.p.133.

2.Ibid.

3.Persian edition by J.Briggs,Bombay,1831.relevant p.37.

Persian edition by Nawal Kishore.Lucknow,1864.relevantp.21.



English translation. This addition is the outcome of the fanciful imagination of A. Briggs and has misled I.H. Qureshi who has drawn a sweeping conclusion therefrom.

In view of the absence of sound evidence, I.H. Qureshi's contention automatically falls to the ground and our irresistible conclusion remains, that among the Deccani Muslim rulers, privy purse and government treasury were one and the same thing.

Coinage:-As already discussed in chapter 1, the first four 'Adil Shahs did not issue coins of their own, but carried on the government with the help of the coins issued by the Bahmani Sultans. Huns - the gold coins of Vijayanagar also circulated in Bijapur and were accepted on their intrinsic value.<sup>1</sup> The copper coins of the last five 'Adil Shahs were rather ornate but usually ill-struck.<sup>2</sup> They were of very small denominations, i.e., six Chitals, three Chitals, two Chitals and one Chital. Under Muhammad 'Adil Shah<sup>3</sup>, the royal mint at Bijapur coined Huns, half-Huns and quarter-Huns - all of gold; the silver currency manufactured was the Rupee, half-Rupee and quarter-Rupee and the copper currency consisted of six Chitals, three Chitals, two Chitals and one Chital. The issue of Huns - of gold- was an innovation of Muhammad 'Adil Shah<sup>4</sup> and the bankers

1. From Akbar to Aurangzeb, W.H. Moreland. London, 1923. p. 331.

2. The Coins of India, C.J. Brown. OUP. 1922. p. 84.

3. Ibid. p. 84. Also Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 353.

4. Ibid.



were somewhat hesitant to accept this new coinage. On learning this, Muhammad 'Adil Shah issued a Farman dated the 29th May, 1654 ordering all his subjects to accept it on the pain of severe penalties. They were assured that the 'Adil Shahi Hun contained 82.69 percent gold.<sup>1</sup>

Most interesting of all Bijapuri coinage was the silver Lari or fish-hook money issued by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, which was very popular amongst the traders towards the end of the 17th century.<sup>2</sup> The silver currency of this type was originally minted in the district of Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf and was thus called Lari; and from there it was adopted by the 'Adil Shahs. The Bijapur kingdom embraced a large portion of the Konkan littoral, where the traders from Persia often landed. It was probably with a view to meet the local demand for the Laris that the 'Adil Shahs caused them to be struck in their names. It seems that the Laris were current only in the coastal areas of the kingdom and not in its interior.

In addition to these coins, shell money (Cowries) was also used on a large scale for petty transactions in the villages. Sometimes the villagers used bitter almonds in place of Cowries.<sup>3</sup>

1. G. H. Khare, "Some more information on the Hons of Muhammad 'Adil Shah". Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, vol. 16, pt. 1. 1954. pp. 130-31.

2. Geo P. Taylor, "On the Bijapuri Lari or Lari". JASB N.S. 1910. p. 687.

3. Travels in India, J. B. Tavernier. Eng. tr. V. Ball. ed. W. Crooke. OUP 1925. vol. 1. pp. 23-24.



Royal Household:-Our data about the royal household is very scanty. The royal household was usually encircled by a large enclosure with palaces inside. The 'Adil Shahs used to have large Harems, which could be maintained only by a separate department charged solely with their care, as was the case under the Mughals. It was the duty of this department to supply the wants of its inmates, who consisted of the queens, concubines, midwives and a host of domestic servants. One can presuppose the existence of a Tahwildar (cash-keeper) meeting their needs within their fixed allowances. Inside the enclosure, there were also women guards stationed at strategic places for security reasons and to safeguard the privacy of the inmates. Outside the enclosure, there was the Sar i Pardeh dar (officer of the bed-chamber and private apartments) posted with his retainers and he was always a confidant of the Shah.

The royal kitchen was run by the Mir Bakawal (master of the kitchen) with the assistance of several cooks and also the clerks who would maintain a regular account of daily expenditure. An important official attached to the kitchen was the Chashnigir, whose foremost duty was to supervise the royal kitchen and taste the meals prepared for the Shah before serving them to him. When the Shi'i nobles wanted to get rid of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, they tried to corrupt his Chashnigir,<sup>1</sup>

1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 65. Chashnigir was also called Akhwan i Salar.



so that the food could be poisoned; But the Chashnigir, a Sunni, refused to be a party to this plot and alerted the Shah, who inflicted brutal punishments on all the conspirators.

Influence of the royal seraglio on the central government:- The history of the 'Adil Shahis shows that the influence of the Harem on the affairs of the state was predominant only when its rulers were minors. The role of the Queen Mother Punji Khatun in ousting the regent Kamal Khan Deccani alias Darab Khan Jardi has already<sup>1</sup> been discussed in chapter IV. After the annihilation<sup>1</sup> of the regent, she was a<sup>1</sup> supreme factor in the state. Those who had remained loyal to Isma'il 'Adil Khan during that crisis were amply rewarded by her.<sup>1</sup> The Silahdars Mustafa Aqa Muqarab Khan, Muzaffar Khan, Khwaja 'Inayat Kashi and Muhammad Husain ~~Kashani~~ Teherani were granted lucrative jagirs.<sup>2</sup> Other nobles who in disgust with the regency of Kamal Khan Deccani, had migrated to Khandesh, Berar, Gujerat and Telingana, were pacified by her and persuaded to return to Bijapur.<sup>3</sup> She raised ~~xx~~ her slave Khusrau Turk Lari to the rank of a free person, granted him the title of Asad Khan Lari and made him the jagirdar of Nalgawan.<sup>4</sup> When Mallu 'Adil Khan misbehaved as a ruler, it was mainly through the under-hand means of his

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 30.

2. Ibid, II, 30.

3. Ibid, II, 31.

4. Asad Khan Lari has already been discussed in chapter III.



grandmother Funji Khatun that he was deposed.<sup>1</sup>

After his victory at Talikota (1565), 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was very keen to dispossess the Portuguese from their possessions in India and ~~had~~ made several futile attempts to achieve the object. The Portuguese were, therefore, very inquisitive to know what was being done against them in Bijapur. They kept spies scattered there and also had spies on the royal Harem.<sup>2</sup> The secrets of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I were betrayed by his favourite mistress, who had as her secret lover a quasi-renegade Portuguese, who passed on such information to Goa.<sup>3</sup>

The influence of the Queen Mother Chand Sultana under the minor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II has already been discussed in chapter IV.

Under strong rulers like Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, Muhammad 'Adil Shah II and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, the Harem does not appear to have exercised any influence on the day to day working of the government. Though the Harem did not exercise any influence, the officers of the royal household at times participated in activities in addition to their own. For example, under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, the Naikwaris

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 48.

2. Asia Portuguesa, Manuel de Faria Y Souza. vol. 2, p. 503.

3. Nothing is known about her antecedents.



had created great disturbances and for their chastisement, royal armies <sup>were sent</sup> with Jut Rao as one of the leaders. Jut Rao played a game of double-dealing in the operations against his fellow Naikwaris and then to cover his guilt, arrested some of the rebels. The Shah, on hearing this, promptly sent Haji Lar, the Sar i Pardehedar, to take charge of the captives from him.<sup>1</sup> Mir Yusuf, the Sar i Pardehedar of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II was commissioned by the latter to place all sorts of obstructions in the path of the Mughal army proceeding to attack Bijapur.<sup>2</sup>

#### Central Structure of the Kingdom of Golconda:-

Theoretically, the Shah enjoyed unlimited authority, but actually he took the advice of his counsellors or ministers in matters of state policy and ran the daily administration with their help. We do not hear of any ministers in the reign of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and it can be presumed that he carried on the administration with the help of the prominent jagirdars of the realm. Similarly under Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, no ministers are heard of and we do not know anything about the central structure of his government. The gradual expansion of Jamshid Quli's dominions from the confines of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar to the delta of Godavari and Krishna did require some

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1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189. f. 90b.

2. 'Ali Nama, Nusrati. BM Ms Add 26257. f. 111a.



sort of organisation, but during the last two years of his reign, he was always in a coma and was incapacitated from running the government directly, the powers of which seem to have been delegated to the premier noble Sayyid Kamalu'd-din Ardistani. Thus for the first time, we hear, though in a vague form, of a minister transacting the business of the state.<sup>1</sup> Under the minor Subhan Quli, there is a definite mention of the offices of Vakil and Peshwa, both of which were offered to Saif Khan 'Ainu'l-Mulk by the Queen Mother Bilqis Zaman.<sup>2</sup> Another functionary we hear of, is the Thanedar or the police commissioner of Golconda, who was strong enough to maintain law and order in the city even when it was without an army.<sup>3</sup> Thus before the coming of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, the central government was in a preliminary form and its offices were not well-defined. With his accession, the situation becomes clearer and we find references to ministers, who retained their offices during the pleasure of the Shah.

Vakil or Peshwa :-The most important officer in the realm next to the Shah was the Vakil, or some times known as Peshwa. He is also at times called Na'ib i Shah, as this post could be entrusted only to one in whom the Shah had confidence.

1. Naql i Jamshid Khan, ~~B.M.6~~ Halle, its microfilm with me.f.30a.  
 2. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f.89a.  
 3. ibid.



The Vakil held a general charge of the whole administration and the department of foreign affairs was also in <sup>his</sup> hands. The appointments to higher services were generally made by the Shah on his recommendation. If the Shah happened to be a minor, then the Vakil usually acted as his regent and his powers were unlimited in every sphere of the kingdom, while if the Shah was always devoted to pleasures and merrymaking, the Vakil enjoyed undiminished powers. The kingdom of Golconda was fortunate in having some very outstanding personalities of the age occupying this post, such as Mustafa Khan Ardistani, Mir Momin Astrabadi and his pupil Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun. The latter enjoyed the unique privilege of being carried to the royal palace in a palanquin and was seated to the right side of the throne.<sup>1</sup>

Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah is usually referred to as the organiser of the Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golconda,<sup>2</sup> but much of the credit for this achievement, in fairness, belongs to his Vakil Mustafa Khan Ardistani.<sup>2</sup> The crying need of the state was peace, which had been disturbed by the unsettled conditions following Jamshid Quli's death and Mustafa Khan Ardistani, by a strong policy weeded out highwaymen and thieves, thus

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1. 'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi, "Ibrahim Qutb Shah, the organiser of the Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golconda". Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1944.

2. He has also been called Madaru'l-Maham and Madar 'Aliya of the state. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 133.



guaranteeing security to the life and property of the subjects. A large number of spies and detectives were posted throughout the kingdom to keep the central government informed of any subversive activity against the state and the results were quite encouraging. The Peshwa also made his mark in the realm of foreign affairs. The coalition with the Nizam Shah and 'Adil Shah against Ramaraja of Vijayanagar, on the eve of the Battle of Talikota (1565) was successfully formed by him. He proved himself a great general at this historic battle. The task of concluding the work of this great victory was also entrusted to him. In this way, Mustafa Khan Ardistani by his manifold functions, made his mark as the great Peshwa of Golconda.

Mir Muhammad Momin Astrabadi, one of the learned men of the age and the Peshwa under both Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Qutb Shah profoundly enhanced the prestige of his office by his solid achievements. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah had great faith in him and gave him full powers in administration, while he himself whiled away his time in merry-making.<sup>1</sup> It was under Mir Muhammad Momin's influence that Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah became a staunch Shi'a and made Shi'ism the state religion. The celebration of Mubarram with all its gorgeousness owed its initiation to the Peshwa. The marriage

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1. Haqiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. vol.1, p.260.



of Hayat Bakhsh Begum with prince Muhammad and the latter's nomination as the successor of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was also due to him. Shah 'Abbas Safavi (1587-1629) had sought the ~~xxxxxxx~~ hand of Hayat Bakhsh Begum for his son and it was through the diplomacy of the Peshwa that the Shah of Iran was refused in such a way that he was not offended.<sup>1</sup> While making higher appointments, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah used to give due weight to the Peshwa's recommendations. The appointment of the Mirza Muhammad Amin Ispahani to Mir Jumlagi and that of his own pupil 'Allama Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun as the ambassador to the Shah of Iran - both were due to the Peshwa's influence. Under Muhammad Qutb Shah, Mir Muhammad Momin continued as the Peshwa. It is said that the intense religiosity of Muhammad Qutb Shah was also due to the education imparted to him under the supervision of Mir Muhammad Momin. The latter died towards the end of the reign of the Shah, who did not appoint a successor but took upon himself the duties of the post.<sup>2</sup>

With the accession of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, the influence of the Harem became supreme and the Shah was forced to appoint as his Peshwa<sup>3</sup> Shah Muhammad son of Shah 'Ali Arab, the

1. The reason put forth was that the princess had already been betrothed to the prince Muhammad since her childhood. The inner reason, however, was the Shah's liking for the prince, whom he wanted to make his successor by all means. The prince by becoming his son-in-law could become a stronger claimant to the throne.

2. Hadigatu's-Salatin, vol.1.p.28.

3. Ibid. vol.1.p.28.



son-in-law of his grandmother Khanam Agha. With the growth of the territories of the state and the consequent complication of the administrative problems, one person was not considered sufficient for the high post of the Peshwa. 'Allama Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun, who had very successfully conducted his embassy at the Safavid court, was appointed Na'ib Peshwa and Dabir (scribe) with permission to sit in the ~~xx~~ court and near the throne.<sup>1</sup> The Shah soon became disgusted with the gross incompetence of the Peshwa Shah Muhammad in the realm of diplomacy, as he had cut a very sorry figure <sup>before</sup> Shaikh Muhyu'd-din, the Mughal envoy lately arrived in Golconda and he also failed to give a good account of himself in his dealings with the envoys of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he was dismissed in 1629 and 'Allama Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun <sup>was</sup> promoted in his place; he soon cleared up the mess created by his predecessor. The Shah ordered that foreign affairs should be exclusively dealt with by the Peshwa.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is clear that the Peshwa had many functions, though mostly he was concerned with the foreign affairs. In view of this evidence, it is difficult ~~with~~ to agree with Sherwani<sup>4</sup> doubting the statement of Briggs<sup>5</sup> that the Peshwa was a minister

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1. Hadiqatu

1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol.1, pp.29,65.

2. Ibid. vol.1. pp.65-67.

3. Ibid.

4. H.K. Sherwani, "Culture and Administrative set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah". Islamic Culture, July, 1957. p.237, f.n.1.

5. Rise of Mahomedan Power in India, J. Briggs, III, p.211. London, 1829.



of the foreign department. In the early period, he was in charge of all the departments but with the growth in the functions of the state, he was mostly concerned with foreign affairs but certainly could influence other departments if he chose to do so. Thus the Peshwa remained a predominant functionary throughout the history of Golconda. Under the tributary Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah, the term Peshwa was dropped and replaced by ~~that~~<sup>of</sup> Diwan, but the importance of the post remained the same.

Mir Jumla:-Unlike Bijapur, the post of Mir Jumla in Golconda was usually held by a person other than the Peshwa. Though primarily in charge of the income and expenditure of the state, at times, he was also charged with the function of maintaining law and order, raising armies or leading military expeditions.

The earliest mention of the office of Mir Jumla occurs when on the deposition of Subhan Quli, Mustafa Khan Ardistani, a premier noble of the realm, invited prince Ibrahim Quli from Vijayanagar to assume <sup>the</sup> kingship and in recognition of this service, he was honoured with the post of Mir Jumla.<sup>1</sup> Later on, the Shah's sister was married to him and he was promoted to the Vikalat.<sup>2</sup> The next Mir Jumla of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah was Shah Mir Tabatabai<sup>3</sup>, who in addition to his original post, also

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1. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. vol. 1. p. 115.

2. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 116

3. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 204.



acted as an ambassador<sup>1</sup> to Ahmadnagar on several occasions. He conquered the fort of Kondbir with the help of Haidari and Husaini guns.<sup>2</sup> The most prominent Mir Jumla of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was Mirza Muhammad Amin Ispahani.<sup>3</sup> His pay was two lakhs of Huns per annum.<sup>4</sup> He was an ideal person for the Mir Jumlagi. In the revenue department, he did wonders. He detected several cases of misappropriation of government money, recovered lakhs of Huns from Suri Rao Brahman and deposited them in the state treasury. Thus he earned the favour of the Shah and was presented with a jewelled pen-case.<sup>5</sup> When the Pardesis were being butchered in the capital under orders from the Shah, it was he who intruded upon the Shah's privacy at the dead of night, made him realise his folly and stopped the slaughter.<sup>6</sup> Though an able financier, he was not a good general and in the military campaigns, he was always a failure.

With the coming of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah to the throne, there was a general deterioration in the administrative standards. The new Mir Jumla Mansur Khan Habshi owed his post to the favours of the royal harem and became more important

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1. The system of accrediting ambassadors permanently from one court to another is of modern origin and was not known in medieval India. In those days, the office of an ambassador was a temporary one created only for a specific mission and automatically came to an end on the completion of the particular task. (The Portuguese Goa was an exception to it).
  2. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. Vol.1.p.186.
  3. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542.ff.166b-67a
  4. There was no fixed pay of this post and it depended upon the mood of the Shah.
  5. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, Mir 'Alam. Vol.1.pp.244-45.
  6. see chapter III.



than the Peshwa even. He was more interested in military affairs than in the revenue department with the result that administrative discipline became lax and the exactions of the Brahman collectors oppressed the masses.<sup>1</sup> Finding himself not capable of coping with the rush of financial business, he persuaded the Shah to create another post, that of Na'ib Mir Jumla. Mulla Taqi was appointed to it and was soon entrusted with all affairs of the revenue department, by Mansur Khan Habshi.<sup>2</sup> On the latter's death in 1628, the post of Mir Jumla was kept in abeyance and the Sar Khail performed the duties of Mir Jumla. In 1632, the Peshwa Muhammad Ibn Khatun carried on the duties of Mir Jumla, but at the instigation of his enemies, the Peshwa was dismissed within ~~xx~~ a few months. In 1633, he was reinstated but appointed as Mir Jumla. From this time onwards till the extinction of Qutb Shahiya dynasty, this post was also held by the Peshwa.

H.K.Sherwani has put forth the proposition that in Golconda, the Mir Jumla was the most important officer and not the Vakil or Peshwa.<sup>3</sup> He has based his assertion on Ferishta<sup>4</sup> and Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the writer has not gone through these works carefully and from a superficial reading

1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin. vol.1.p.29.

2. Ibid. vol.1.p.60.

3. H.K.Sherwani, "Culture and Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah". Islamic Culture, July 1957. p.237.

4. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 120.

5. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.133.



has drawn a sweeping conclusion. Ferishta does not discuss the case of Mustafa Khan Ardistani on page 120 as Sherwani maintains. Actually he does this some two hundred pages later (p.334) where he clearly states that Mustafa Khan Ardistani welcomed Ibrahim Quli from Vijayanagar on the frontiers of Tilangana and was immediately honoured with the office of Mir Jumla; on the following page (335) Ferishta describes the coronation of the Shah, the marriage of the Shah's sister with Mustafa Khan and the latter's investiture with full powers,<sup>1</sup> so that his status rose higher than Mir Jumla, or in other words, he became Vakil or Peshwa. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi<sup>2</sup> clearly states that Mustafa Khan Ardistani remained the Vakil of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah for many years; this made him haughty and he had to leave the kingdom and join the service of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi also states<sup>3</sup> that "after Kishwar Khan's murder, Shah Abu'l-Hasan son of Shah Tahir was appointed to be the Jumlatu'l-Mulk and <sup>was</sup> subsequently promoted to the Vikalat of Bijapur". By no stretch of imagination can this mean that Jumlatu'l-Mulk was an office superior to that of the Peshwa or Vakil. By citing this wrong example from Bijapur in order to substantiate his case

1. The actual text is "اور اس کا مرتبہ اور اس کا مقام" i.e., his status rose higher than that of Mir Jumla.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.133.

3. Ibid. p.123.



for Golconda, Sherwani has in fact placed himself in a ridiculous position. We often hear of a Mir Jumla being promoted to the Peshwaship but not vice-versa.

In addition to these two ministers, there were several deputy ministers, whose number was never fixed. Sometimes several offices were combined in one person. The deputy ministers were <sup>the</sup> Sar Khail, Majmu'adar and 'Ainu'l-Mulk. The Dabir though strictly speaking not a deputy minister, was in no way less in importance than the others. He was the head of the secretariat and was charged with the important function of official correspondence. Thus he enjoyed access to the Shah very freely and his chance of promotion to a higher post or of holding several posts at a time was quite bright. The royal orders were generally issued in two languages, Persian and Telugu, for the benefit of the Muslims and Hindus respectively, and so two Dabirs were appointed for the same duty. I'timad Rao Brahman, the Dabir of Muhammad Qutb Shah charged with drafting orders in Telugu, was confirmed in his post by 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.<sup>1</sup> Khwaja Muzaffar 'Ali was the Dabir of Muhammad Qutb Shah charged with drafting orders in Persian. In 1626, 'Allama Muhammad Ibn Khatun was allowed to act as Dabir for drafting documents in Persian in addition to his Assistant Peshwaship.<sup>2</sup> When in 1628, the 'Allama was

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1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol.1.p.31.

2. Ibid. vol.1.p.67.



promoted to be the Peshwa, his post of Dabir was conferred on Mulla Owais<sup>1</sup>. The latter was such a great expert in drafting orders in Persian that he was honoured with the title of Munshiu'l-Mumalik<sup>2</sup>. The Dabir was assisted by an official called Shuru'-Nawis, who was probably the superintendent of this department. Under 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Shuru'-Nawis was Saru Rai Brahman<sup>3</sup> - the latter also held this post under Muhammad Qutb Shah.

Sar Khail:- Literally this term means "Head of the Horse", but actually he was the direct subordinate of the Mir Jumla in the revenue department. Whenever the post of Mir Jumla was vacant, it was the Sar Khail who would perform his functions. His pay was quite handsome and he was often in possession of a jagir yielding an annual income of 60,000 to 100,000 Huns. Though essentially a revenue officer, he was at times also charged with military duties, such as the recruitment of state forces and leading expeditions against the enemies of the state.

The earliest mention of a Sar Khail by name is that of Khawaja Afzal Turk, who occupied this office for nine years in the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah. He held a jagir of the annual value of one lakh of Huns, but owing to the backbitings of his enemies, he was dismissed towards the end of the Shah's

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1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol.1.p.67.

2. Ibid. vol.1.p.67.

3. Ibid. vol.1.p.31.



reign and his jagir was taken away.<sup>1</sup> He was, however, reinstated in his post and the Jagir restored to him when Mansur Khan Habshi became the Mir Jumla. When the rebels killed Diyanat Khan, the Jagirdar of Mustafanagar, Khwaja Afzal Turk led an expedition against them and severely punished them. The Jagir of Mustafanagar was conferred on him in recognition of this.<sup>2</sup> On the death of Mansur Khan Habshi in 1628, the Khwaja lost his job and Mulla Taqi was appointed in his place.<sup>3</sup> The Mulla soon made his mark as an administrator. Revenue affairs were tremendously improved, the undue exactions of the Brahman Karkuns ceased and even Narayana Rao, the Majmu'adar, was forced to return 130,000 Huns to the state, which amount he had misappropriated in the past. On account of these meritorious services, the Mulla was honoured with the title of Sharifu'l-Mulk and presented with a jewelled pen-case, which had not been done before since Mirza Muhammad Amin<sup>4</sup> received a similar gift.<sup>in 1628</sup> When in 1628, the Mughal forces were rushing towards the Deccan, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah gave 50,000 Huns to the Sharifu'l-Mulk so that he could raise troops and he was also appointed as the commander of this new force.<sup>5</sup> In this way, the Mulla was occupying three posts at a time, the Sar Khaili, the vacant

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1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol.1.p.30.

2. Ibid. vol.1.p.73.

3. Ibid. vol.1.p.64.

4. Ibid. vol.1.p.64.

5. Ibid. vol.1.p.65.



Mir Jumlagi and a command of the army. This was the highest honour so far received by any Sar Khail. He died in 1630. His two successors, Mirza Hamza Astrabadi and Mirza Rozbhan Ispahani acted as Sar Khail for a short while, could not adapt themselves to this post and were dispensed with. (1633).

Mir Fasihu'd-din, the next Sar Khail<sup>appointed in 1633</sup> became a favourite of the Shah not because of his work but mostly through continually dancing attendance upon the latter. He was also presented with a jewelled case like Mulla Taqi. In 1633, when 'Allama Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun was appointed Mir Jumla, his nephew Shaikh Muhammad Tahir was appointed Sar Khail and Mir Fasihu'd-din was automatically superseded. In 1637, Muhammad Sa'id, the Havaladar of Masulipatam was appointed Sar Khail and he was destined to be the most famous Mir Jumla in history.<sup>1</sup>

The above narration makes it clear that the post of Sar Khail essentially concerned the revenue department, though sometimes military duties were also associated with it.

'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi's assertion<sup>2</sup> that the Sar Khail was a petty military officer under the 'Ainu'l-Mulk, the deputy army minister is thus proved incorrect. The author has given no evidence whatsoever in support of his proposition.

1. For details see, The Life of Mir Jumla, Jagdish Narayana Sarkar. Calcutta, 1951.

2. History of Golconda, Haidarabad, 1956. pp. 323-24.



Majmu'adar:-He was a deputy minister in charge of the audit and accounts department and as such he was a prominent member of the ministry of Mir Jumlagi. He scrutinised the revenue receipts of the crown lands and jagirs. This post was throughout monopolised by the Hindus well-versed in the keeping of accounts etc. Narayana Rao Brahman, the Majmu'adar under Muhammad Qutb Shah was confirmed in his post by 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.<sup>1</sup> The paucity of material makes it impossible to trace the early history of this office, but it can be safely assumed that the post did exist before the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah.

The Majmu'adar, though essentially a keeper of the records of balances, was also sometimes entrusted with delicate diplomatic missions. The Majmu'adar Narayana Rao was deputed by 'Abdullah Qutb Shah to console the dependents of the late Veetuji Kantiya, a noble in the service of the Nizam Shahiya dynasty and his son and nephew were enrolled amongst the grandees of Golconda, with productive and fertile jagirs conferred on them.<sup>2</sup>

'Ainu'l-Mulk :- The contemporary writers nowhere mentioned the duties of the 'Ainu'l-Mulk, but from incidental and stray references<sup>3</sup>, it can be inferred that he was a deputy minister in charge of the military establishment, the recruitment and

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1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol.1. pp. 97-98. 31.

2. Ibid. vol.1. 97-98.

3. Ibid. vol.1. p.59.



administration of the state forces. There is no doubt that he held a very important post, but it is difficult to accept the assertion of Nizamu'd-din Shirazi<sup>1</sup> that he held the highest rank among the ministers, because the top-ranking ministers were <sup>the</sup> Peshwa and Mir Jumla, but if the author meant that he was chief among the deputy ministers, this was probably the case. For example, Mansur Khan Habshi, who held the post of 'Ainu'l-Mulk' under Muhammad Qutb Shah, was promoted to be the Mir Jumla under 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.<sup>2</sup> This promotion was conferred on him because under his rigid supervision and strict orders Qasim Beg the Kotwal and other officials had maintained perfect peace in the capital, the tranquility of which was threatened on the accession of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah.<sup>3</sup> Adam Khan Habshi, the Shah's favourite slave was appointed 'Ainu'l-Mulk'<sup>4</sup> and he soon led an expedition towards the Kaulas fort on the frontier of Golconda against the Munewari chief. With his departure, the affairs of the ministry of 'Ainu'l-Mulki' became very disorganised and he also failed in the expedition. Therefore, Nasiru'l-Mulk was appointed 'Ainu'l-Mulk'<sup>5</sup> in his place.

It is not possible to get <sup>further</sup> specific details about this post.

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1. Hadiqatu's-Salatin, vol. 1. p. 59.

2. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 29.

3. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 20.

4. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 65.

5. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 98.



Immediately below these ministers, there was the Kotwal or the police commissioner charged with the maintenance of law and order in the capital.<sup>1</sup> He was also required to keep a watch and care over the foreigners. He issued passports to the immigrants and merchants to allow them to enter the city and searched their goods in case of any doubt, as the import of tobacco and salt was forbidden, since these monopolies yielded a great income to the state.<sup>2</sup> He also levied customs on the imports into the capital. Under 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, owing to the growth of the administrative problems, ~~from~~ the Peshwa and Mir Jumla had been given <sup>a</sup> Na'ib Peshwa and Na'ib Mir Jumla respectively, similarly, to help the Kotwal to perform his duties efficiently, the post of the Na'ib Kotwal was created.<sup>3</sup> The Kotwal must have had a large establishment of subordinates, but our sources do not help in the matter.

Besides the Kotwal in the capital, there were various Havaldars in charge of the Karkhanas<sup>4</sup> of the state, which manufactured articles for its needs. ~~The~~ Zarradkhana (armour and war material<sup>factory</sup>) supplied bows, arrows and replaced broken weapons. ~~The~~ Topkhana was concerned with the manufacture of guns and gunpowder. ~~The~~ Jamdarkhana manufactured dresses for the royal

1. New Account of East India and Persia: John Fryer. Ed. W. Crooke. vol. 1. p. 246. Hakluyt, London, 1902.

2. Travels in India, J. B. Tavernier. Eng. tr. V. Ball. Ed. W. Crooke. vol. 1. p. 125. OUP 1925.

3. Hadigatu's-Salatin. vol. 1. p. 30.

4. Ibid.



household, robes of honour and particularly thousands of mourning dresses distributed by the Shah on the occasion of Muharram. The royal mint under a separate Havaladar also functioned in the capital.

Administration of Justice:-The Qutb Shahs took pride in calling themselves the great dispensers of justice, but we have ~~no~~ no sources to understand their judicial system. It can be presumed that a Qazi was appointed in the capital and the other principal towns to administer justice according to the Shari'a. The personal law of the Hindus was left untouched by the state. The Shah of course was the highest court of appeal in all matters. The magnificent Dad Mahal of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah is often quoted as the best example of his love of justice, but we have <sup>no</sup> means to judge the number of cases decided by him in this palace. According to his Kulliyat, the Shah was a heavy drunkard for the greater part of the year and had innumerable concubines in whose company he spent most of the time. If this ~~was~~ the state of affairs, as he himself admits, then ~~the~~ love of justice becomes a misnomer, as the whole administration was run by his able Peshwa Mir Muhammad Momin Astrabadi.

Majlis i Kingash:-Like the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty, the rulers of Golconda also had <sup>a</sup> Majlis i Kingash, which was summoned by the Shah during periods of extreme emergency or when the existence



of the state itself was in jeopardy. It was purely an advisory body and the Shah gave due weight to its recommendations. In the history of Golconda, there are on record the following instances when the Majlis i Kingash was summoned to solve pressing problems:-

1543

'Ali Barid of Bidar had captured the fort of Medak - a possession of Golconda and handed it over to Ibrahim Quli in return for forty elephants and sixty thousand Huns, so that the latter could continue his struggle for succession against the elder brother Jamshid Quli. This situation so unnerved Jamshid Quli that he summoned the Majlis i Kingash to seek its advice in regard to the policy to be pursued against the enemy. (1543). The Majlis determined to recover the fort of Medak from the enemies. At the Battle of Narayanakhera, the object of Jamshid Quli was achieved.<sup>1</sup>

Burhan Nizam Shah was very eager to conquer Gulbarga from the 'Adil Shah and in 1557, he had signed the treaty with Ibrahim Qutb Shah to achieve this object. Seeing himself in grave danger, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I appealed to Ramaraja for help, and the latter in consequence, advised Ibrahim Qutb Shah against rendering any help to Burhan Nizam Shah. Ibrahim Qutb Shah was in a quandary. If he helped Burhan Nizam Shah, he would be attacked by Ramaraja and if he did not help, he would

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1. Naql i Jamshid Khan, ~~D.M.S.~~ Halle.f.14a.



be ~~spoiled~~ deprived of the spoils of victory. Therefore, he summoned the Majlis i Kingash and the latter, keeping in view the might of Vijayanagar and their own vulnerability, decided to accept the advice of Ramaraja.<sup>1</sup>

In 1559, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I and Ramaraja determined to ruin the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and asked for the help of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. The latter summoned the Majlis i Kingash, which was of the view that to maintain the balance of power, Ahmadnagar must not be allowed to be extinguished; but it was dangerous to refuse the allies, therefore it was decided to support them with mental reservations. In the end, Ibrahim Qutb Shah by a master stroke of diplomacy achieved his object.<sup>2</sup>

Sources of Income:- The most important source of income was the land revenue, which will be discussed in the chapter on the Local Government. It was the possession of diamond mines that earned a great fame for Golconda. The diamond mines of the Kistna district were the property of the rulers of Golconda right from the decline of the Bahmani kingdom till 1687. The mines of the Karnul District fell into their hands after the victory at Talikota. In all, the kingdom of Golconda had twenty five diamond mines.<sup>3</sup> These mines, however, were fully only

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1. Naql i Jamshid Khan, D.M.G. Halle. f. 19a.

2. Ibid. f. 22a.

3. Travels in India, J.B. Tavernier. Eng. tr. V. Ball, ed. W. Crooke. vol. 2, p. 56. OUP 1925.



utilised in the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, when Muhammad Sa'id, popularly known as Mir Jumla in history, was appointed to the Mir Jumlagi. He gave a great incentive to the mining industry. The mines at Narsapur yielded the most valuable diamonds,<sup>1</sup> Kondapalli came next in importance. In some of the mines particularly at Kandikota and Kollur (Carnatic), as many as 20,000 labourers worked every day. The mines were usually farmed to the highest bidders and they were also required to pay ~~a~~ royalty at the rate of one Hun per hour irrespective of the yield.<sup>2</sup> Besides the diamond mines, the kingdom also possessed iron-ore and lead of a high quality, which was exported to Persia and Syria. It is difficult to form any idea about the vastness of the income <sup>from these mines</sup> as the contemporary writers do not offer any help in the matter.

Peshkash from the tributary states formed another source of income to the state. The state possessed the monopoly of the sale of tobacco and salt.<sup>3</sup> It is said<sup>4</sup> that the price of salt rose to scandalous heights (details not given) in Golconda under 'Abdullah Qutb Shah and his sister<sup>5</sup> ( Amra Bano ) who was the queen of Bijapur, administered him a rebuke

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1. In order to avoid the cupidity of the Mughals, the best mine of Narsapur was put out of use. Relations of Golconda, p.33.
  2. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, p.142.
  3. Travels in India, J.B. Tavernier. vol.1.1.p.125.
  4. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol.3.p.405.
  5. Her name was Khadija Sultana Shahr Bano alias Bare Sahiba, she was the wife of Muhammad 'Adil Shah.



publicly, which cut him to the quick, so that the state monopoly of salt was given up.' Zakat used to yield an income of two lakhs of Huns per annum and this was abolished by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.<sup>1</sup> Gifts to the Shah on the occasions of his birthday, coronation and other festivals formed a lucrative income to the state. Customs from the ports and the anchorage fees also brought in much money. Whether the thirteen taxes imposed in Bijapur already discussed on pp.173-174 were also imposed in Golconda we do not know, but the doubt would always remain that the Shah of Golconda was not going to lag behind his contemporary Shah of ~~Golkonda~~ Bijapur in this money-making device. Irrigation cesses also formed an income of the state.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to estimate the amount of income yielded by the sources enumerated above.

Coinage:-Throughout its history, Golconda used the gold coins of the South Indian Hindu types of Pagodas or Huns. The gold coin next in value to the Hun was half-Hun and then came the Fanam. According to Elliot<sup>3</sup>, the traditional rate ruling in Hindu India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or earlier was 10 Fanams to the Hun, the rate of exchange, however,

1. Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f.178a.

2. G. Yazdani, "Inscription of Ibrahim Qutb Shah from the Pangal Tank, District Nalgunda". Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1925-26 p.23.

3. Coins of Southern India, Sir W. Elliot. London, 1886. pp.48-49.



varying with adulterations. Silver was not a very popular currency in the South and the Hun had no subsidiaries of silver.<sup>1</sup> The Shahs of Golconda minted only copper coins in their names, the copper coins were the Nevel, Tar and Kasu. The Kasu, the lowest copper coin possessed 25-30 grains of copper, two Kasus made one Tar and four Tars equalled one Nevel. Eight Nevels were equal to one Fanam. By the treaty of 1636, Golconda was reduced to becoming a tributary of the Mughals and it was stipulated that the gold and silver coins must bear the Mughal coin legends<sup>2</sup> and (gold) Huns and (silver) Rupees were minted in Golconda accordingly.

Influence of the Harem on the government:- The contemporary writers do not mention the Harem's influence on the daily administration. They have given a vague idea of the role of Queen Mother Bilqis Zaman.<sup>3</sup> They mention with pride the role of Hayat Bakhsh Begum<sup>4</sup> in making 'Abdullah Qutb Shah the ruler of Golconda. Again she saved the dynasty from extinction in 1656 when prince Aurangzeb almost annexed the kingdom. It was through her personal entreaties with the prince that he became inclined to spare the dynasty for the time being.

1. P.M. Joshi, "Coins current in the kingdom of Golconda". Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. 1943. vol. 5. pt. 1.

2. Padshah Nama, 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lahori. Ed. Maulvi Kabiru'd-din Ahmad and 'Abdu'r-Rahman. Calcutta, 1867. vol. 1. pt. 2, pp. 210-11.

3. vide chapter IV.

4. She was the daughter of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and not that of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah as erroneously mentioned by Surendranath, editor, Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri New Delhi, 1949. p. 332, note 4.



General Remarks:-During the early days of the conquest of the Deccan the Muslim rulers employed only Muslim cavalry, composed exclusively of Arab and Persian contingents. With the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom (1347), direct contact with the North ended and there was no hope of getting any large number of Muslim recruits from that direction. The supply of Muslim cavalry never matched the demand of the conquerors.

'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah Bahmani, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom (1347-58) hit upon the plan of seducing the Afghan and Turk nobles from the allegiance of the Tughluq Empire and some of them did join him along with their troops.<sup>1</sup> These desertions were not enough, however, to meet the needs of the Deccani rulers. Even Habshis were employed to make up the deficiency, but in vain. That is why, these Sultans also encouraged the immigration by sea of Muslims from Iran, Iraq and Turkestan particularly to fill in the higher ranks of the army. But again they did not have complete success! It was owing to these circumstances that the separation between the conqueror and the conquered generally maintained by the Muslims of the North, broke down in the South. They were forced to employ Hindus in their main armies. The peculiar circumstance which favoured them was that with the extinction of the Yadava

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1.Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs).vol.1.p.528.



kingdom of Maharashtra in the fourteenth century, a large number of Hindu soldiers became unemployed; they gathered round their native leaders in small bands and hired out their services to the Muslim rulers. The warlike tribes, Beydars, Marathas and Rajputs, were the most conspicuous amongst the recruits. These bands of local Hindu troops were known as Silahdar, Bargir, Ghora Raut and Naikwari.

#### Sources of Recruitment:-

Silahdar and Bargir:-The Silahdar was a leader of mercenary troops who provided his own horse and rode with one or more attendants. The term seems to have originated with Muhammad Shah Bahmani (1358-74)<sup>1</sup>. If a soldier were too poor to purchase a horse, he could ride one belonging to a Silahdar or other native officer, when he was called a Bargir. Thus the Bargir was dependent for his weapons and accoutrements upon the Silahdar, who received the former's full pay from his employer, and paid him at a reduced rate after deducting the cost of the horse and the armour. In the event of defeat in the battlefield, the Silahdar was not compensated by the employer for the loss of his horses or other accoutrements, but success added to his reputation and following and undoubtedly improved his prospects; his reward generally

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1. Rise of Muslim Power in India. J. Briggs. vol. 2. p. 299. Bombay, 1829.



came in the form of a jagir. He was always on the look-out for the best market for his commodity. The state policy was to patronise enterprising Silahdars by conferring jagirs on them. Ordinarily these states usually had their armies supplied by the Silahdars. The only known exception to this was that Ibrahim 'Adil Shah<sup>1</sup> enforced the practice of enlisting Bargirs, who were supplied with horses and other accoutrements by the state.<sup>1</sup>

It was in this way that several Marathas rose to eminence, the most conspicuous example being those of the Bhonslas,<sup>2</sup> who were originally cultivators; a buried treasure in their field enabled them to buy arms and horses and became the captains of the mercenaries, Shahji Bhonsla was their important product. The Mores of Jawli, the Savantas of Warsi, the Ghorpades of Mudhol, the Nimbalkars of Phaltan and Jadhavs of Sindkhed are just a few examples.<sup>3</sup>

The Maratha soldiers were found particularly useful in the hilly tracts, where the Muslim Jagirdars did not like to go personally and which they left to the exclusive charge of their Maratha deputies. These Marathas were thus afforded opportunities to become a hardy race of mountaineering

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1. History of the Marathas, J.G.Duff.vol.1.p.63.London,1878.
  2. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J.N.Sarkar.vol.4.p.19. Calcutta,1919.
  3. Military System of the Marathas, Surendranath Sen.p.5. Calcutta,1958.



soldiery. The Muslim cavalry was essentially meant for fighting in the open and not in the hilly areas and this function was handed over to the Marathas as a matter of necessity.

Ghora Raut:-Another type of professional soldier was the Ghora Raut. They were Maratha horsemen receiving their pay annually, possibly in cash, being bound to appear <sup>o</sup>fr service whenever required by their employer. They provided their own horses, accoutrements and arms and maintained themselves.<sup>1</sup> It seems that they were generally in the pay of the central government of Bijapur and not that of her jagirdars, as the latter could not afford to maintain such a large number of troops merely as reserve forces. The Regent Kamal Khan Deccani, in order to know the full strength of his armies, once ordered a census to be taken of all the Ghora Raut forces.<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I again took the Ghora Raut into service,<sup>3</sup> which had been stopped by his predecessor Isma'il 'Adil Khan.

Naikwaris:-The Naikwaris were another class of the martial races.<sup>4</sup> They have also been called Reddywars or Munewars, as these were the different appellations for the local infantry militia. They looked to their profession alone as the means

1. Rise of Muslim Power in India, J. Briggs. vol. 3. p. 37 foot note.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 26.

3. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 49.

4. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 125.



of their livelihood and were quite ready to serve any master who would pay them.<sup>1</sup> Neither national sentiment nor community of language, religion or kinship ever prevented them from fighting against one another under different masters. They even fought with malignant hate whenever individual disputes existed; the spirit of rivalry and bitterness fomented amongst them by the Bahmani rulers was continued by their successor states. In the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, some of them acquired dominating positions; thus Jagdev Rao Naikwari, a premier noble of Jamshid Qutbu'l-Mulk, having failed to become the regent of Subhan Quli, made an unsuccessful attempt to depose him and replace him by Daulat Quli.<sup>2</sup> The Naikwaris commanding the fort of Golconda were amongst those to invite Ibrahim Quli from Vijayanagar to capture the kingship from Subhan Quli. The official Tarikh i Muhammad Sultan Qutb Shahi has greatly praised them for their loyalty.<sup>3</sup> Saru Rao Naikwari, in the reign of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, was the commander of the fort of Golconda - the most important fort of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, the Naikwaris had become so powerful that even he did not dare to punish them without first gathering sufficient forces to do so.<sup>5</sup>

1. Rise of Muslim Power in India, J. Briggs. vol. 3. p. 399 foot note

2. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, f. 89a.

3. Ibid. f. 91a.

4. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam. vol. 1. p. 137.

5. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, BN Paris. P. S. 189. ff 85a-91b.



His usual method of getting rid of a refractory chief was to kill him by treachery and not by fair means.

The above-mentioned classes of soldiers formed an integral part of the armies of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. They had to be employed as a matter of inescapable necessity; at first they were accepted as Silahdars or Bargirs, but not as higher commanders, which posts were essentially meant for Muslims. Of course they could be promoted to higher ranks on the display of the acts of heroism and extreme loyalty to the state.

Process of Recruitment:-Bijapur and Golconda were generally military states and had been parcelled out into three parts, crown lands, jagirs and areas under Hindu tributary Rajas. It was generally their ruler's policy to multiply the number of jagirs conferred on the enterprising Muslims and particularly the new and distant conquests were given over as Jagirs<sup>1</sup>. The officers in charge of the crown lands and jagirdars both needed forces to run the administration and therefore, enlisted one class or other of Hindu soldiers according to their needs. Unlike the Mughals, there seems to have been no mansabdari system, which could serve as a regular measure of an officer's worth while making appointments. It was purely a question of

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1. For example, in the Bijapur kingdom, the Afghans were granted jagirs in the Western parts, viz., round Miraj and Bankapur, the Habshis in the Eastern parts, Karnul district and a part of the Raichur Doab and Sayyids and Arabs (particularly Mullas of the Naviyat clan in the Konkan. History of Aurangzeb, Sir J.N. Sarkar. vol. 4. p. 130. Calcutta, 1919.



supply and demand. While enlisting a Silahdar into service, they had to bear in mind the candidate's reputation as a soldier and the number of retainers he commanded. The central government had no control over pay or promotion and the troops thus recruited owed their loyalty only to the recruiting officer - their paymaster - and not to the Shah. The famous institution of branding the horses and mustering the soldiers according to their descriptive rolls - a prominent feature of the mansabdari system - do not seem to be a characteristic of Deccani armies.

These local forces were not only meant to maintain law and order in the spheres of jurisdiction of their owners, but were also often required to repel external aggression, because reinforcements from the central government were not likely to reach the officer concerned in the hour of need owing to the poor means of communication. The central government also did not possess a large army and had to depend for its existence upon the forces of the jagirdars. In the long period of one hundred years extending over the three reigns of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, the conception of a standing army in the pay of the central government is hardly traceable. This is also true of the 'Adil Shahs of Bijapur, where for almost the whole of the sixteenth century, they had no large standing armies of their own but were mostly depending upon their



jagirdars. It seems that after the victory at Talikota, an era of expansion and conquests dawned in these days and their rulers felt the necessity of having standing armies of their own, because dependence upon the jagirdars' forces was felt to be dangerous. The entry of the Mughals into the Deccan in the early seventeenth century exposed them to the risk of extinction at their hands and they resolved to have armies of their own. Muhammad 'Adil Shah and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, who were contemporaries, are credited with this innovation. Thus throughout the seventeenth century, there were two kinds of armies in each kingdom, one belonging to the central government and other <sup>the</sup> to the jagirdars. Both were well equipped with arms and ammunition.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the central government did not exercise any direct control on the jagirdars' forces.

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi has reproduced a Dasturu'l-'amal of the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah laying particular stress on branding <sup>the</sup> horses and recording the muster rolls of the soldiers; the jagirdars who violated these practices were punished,<sup>2</sup> though he gives us no specific instances of punishment. It is self-evident that the armies of the Shah consisted of his own standing armies and those of his jagirdars.

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1. Hadiquatu's-Salatin, vol. 1. pp. 65, 94.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 356.



Of course it was easy to enforce these practices with rigidity upon his own troops, but it is difficult to believe that he could have imposed such unpopular measures on his jagirdars, who were very powerful in their areas and could have easily flouted his authority if they chose to do so. That even Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the greatest of the 'Adil Shahs, could not afford their displeasure is borne out by a striking example.<sup>1</sup> In 1644, three of his jagirdars, Shahji Bhonsla, Sayyidi Farhan and Yaqut Khan became estranged from him and he immediately deputed one of his confidants Abu'l-Hasan to pacify them.

The number of soldiers etc. needed for the maintenance of the jagirdar's authority was essentially his own concern, as in the event of any challenge to his position he was required to deal with the situation himself. It was also his duty to place all his forces at the disposal of the central government whenever required. For example, Hanumant Goundah, the Desai of the Simat of Kotal, was ordered in 1649 to render all assistance to the Havaldar of Bankapur, so that the refractory chiefs could be quickly crushed.<sup>2</sup> Hanumant Goundah was again ordered in 1654 to place all his troops at the disposal of Malik Rihan, so that the rebel Charkal Kar might be crushed.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, ed, Yusuf Husain. Haidarabad, 1950. p.125, document 57, dated June 25, 1644.

2. Sir Walter Elliot Collection, I.O. Mss Eur F.50, Farman 21.

3. Ibid. Farman 24.



Charkal Goundah was ordered in 1664 to place all his troops at the disposal of the central government for an expedition to be launched shortly by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the lack of relevant evidence, it is difficult to get a clear idea about the organisation of the Bijapuri forces, but it is reasonable to assume that the structure of her armies would not have been radically different from those of Golconda. Recently a document on this subject has fallen into our hands which displays a vivid picture of the Golconda armies. This has been published by Dr Yusuf Husain<sup>2</sup>, but he has not been able to make up his mind whether the document concerns the kingdom of Bijapur or Golconda. Its careful perusal leads one to the conclusion that it should belong to Golconda for the following reasons:-

This document <sup>is</sup> essentially a seventeenth century production and though written in chaste Persian also contains several Deccani Urdu words<sup>3</sup>, for example, Kabadi and Pakhali. Deccani Urdu, though originally patronised by the 'Adil Shahs, reached its zenith under the Qutb Shahs. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Muhammad Qutb Shah and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah composed poetry in this language and popularised it in their kingdom. It is quite probable that they also employed Deccani Urdu in their

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1. Sir W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Mss Eur. F. 50. Farman 39.

2. Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign. pp. 229-37.

3. Ibid. pp. 234, 236. Kabadi is still a popular word of usage in Haidarabad these days.



official records. This impression is further strengthened when we compare this document - mainly a manual of administration for the army, with the contemporary Dasturu'l-'amal (reproduced by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi) mentioned above. The latter, essentially a Bijapuri document, is purely Persian in vocabulary, whereas the former employs several Deccani Urdu words as well. Thus we believe that the document concerned Golconda and not Bijapur.

In order to remove any doubt about the correctness of his conclusion, the present writer had also addressed a query to the Central Record Office, Haidarabad (previously known as Daftar i Diwani, Haidarabad), where the document under reference was discovered. They have agreed with his judgement and also informed him that the document was found in the piles of papers all dealing exclusively with Golconda.<sup>1</sup>

According to this document, the military organisation of Golconda consisted of four classes of commanders, Panj-Hazari, Hazari, Jumladar (i.e., the rank-holder of 100) and Havaladar (the rank-holder of 10):-

Panj-Hazari:-

<u>Horsemen</u>	<u>Bargirs</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Total pay per mensem</u>
880	1050	1,000	9404 Huns

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1. Reply dated 30.11.60 received from Syed Mohiud-din, Superintendent, Research Section (Persian), Central Record Office, Iram Manzil, Khairatabad, Haidarabad-4. (India).



Details of expenditure on the Panj-Hazari Contingent:-

cost of feeding 1000 horses=3000 Huns or 3 Huns per horse p.m.

880 Horsemen divided into 7 divisions in order of their pay;

1. pay of the Khasa i Panj-Hazari: Huns 250 p.m.

2. pay of the Majmu'adar : Huns 83 p.m.

3. pay of 4 Muharrars @ 5 Huns each: Huns 20 p.m.

4. group of 16 cavalrymen including their Havaladar whose pay was 12 Huns p.m. and the remaining 15 cavalrymen at 8 Huns each: Huns 132 p.m.

5. 24 Bargirs of the Khasa @ 4 Huns each: Huns 96 p.m.

6. 130 Bargirs of the Havaladars @ 4 Huns each: Huns 520 p.m.

7. 704 cavalrymen under the Jumladar i Hazari, the details of each person's pay not clear, but the total amount paid to them was: Huns 3298 p.m.

In this way, the above-mentioned 7 divisions of 880 Horsemen received in all 4399 Huns per mensem and the maintenance of their 1000 horses cost 3000 Huns per mensem.

Expenditure on the Bargirs per month:- Out of 1050 Bargirs,

50 acted as spies and received in all 80 Huns per mensem, and the remaining <sup>1000</sup> Bargirs received 1925 Huns in all per mensem.

The document is silent on the role of these 1000 Bargirs, but a critical study of the rest of the commanders brings home to us the fact that the Bargirs of every commander were divided into



five classes with their rates of remuneration as under:-

For every two horses, one Sa'is<sup>1</sup> was appointed @ 1½ Huns p.m.

For every ten horses, one Pakhali<sup>2</sup> was appointed @ 2½ Huns p.m.

For every ten horses, one Mish'alchi<sup>3</sup> was appointed @ 2 Huns p.m.

For every five horses, one Kabadi<sup>4</sup> was appointed @ 3 Huns p.m.

For every ten horses, one Bargir was appointed @ 1¼ Huns p.m.

When this rule is applied to the Panj-Hazari Contingent (having 1000 horses), we find

500 <u>Sa'ises</u> getting	750 <u>Huns</u>
100 <u>Pakhalis</u> gaining	250 <u>Huns</u>
100 <u>Mish'alchis</u> having	200 <u>Huns</u>
200 <u>Kabadis</u> earning	600 <u>Huns</u>
100 <u>Bargirs</u> making	125 <u>Huns</u>
<u>1000</u>	<u>1925 <u>Huns</u></u>

The sum of 1925 Huns spent on 1000 Bargirs tallies with the figure given in the document and hence our supposition is correct.

1. Sa'is means the groom. Even under the Mughals, one groom used to serve two horses. A'in i Akbari (Persian text) ed: H. Blochmann. Calcutta, 1872. p. 144
2. Pakhali or Bihishti or water-carrier. It is interesting to compare the Golconda practice of having one Pakhali for every ten horses with that of the Mughals, where a stable of 40 horses used to have 3 Pakhalis; a stable of 30 horses had 2 Pakhali and a stable of less than 30 horses only one Pakhali. A'in i Akbari, op. cit., p. 144.
3. It means a torch-bearer.
4. Kabadi is the one whose profession is breeding horses and other animals or the one who conveys articles in horse-penniers. It was owing to these important duties that amongst the Bargirs, his pay was the highest.



It is interesting to find that there was a very little difference between a Panj-Hazari and a Hazari, the latter also commanded 880 horsemen, 1000 horses but 1000 Bargirs, i.e., only 50 Bargirs less than that of the Panj-Hazari. The total pay of his contingent was 9114 Huns or 290 Huns less than the Panj-Hazari. The details how he spent the sum of 9114 Huns p.m. are as under:-

cost of feeding 1000 horses=3000 Huns or 3 Huns per horse p.m.

880 Horsemen divided into 6 divisions in order of their pay;

1. pay of the <u>Khasa i Hazari</u> :	<u>Huns</u> 83 $\frac{3}{4}$
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2. pay of the <u>Majmu'adar</u> :	41 $\frac{1}{2}$
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3. pay of 3 <u>Muharrars</u> @ 5 <u>Huns</u> each:	15
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4. 16 <u>Havaldars</u> @ 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ <u>Huns</u> each:	132
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5. 155 <u>Bargirs</u> of the Havaldars @ 4 <u>Huns</u> each:	620
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6. 704 cavalry men received: (the details not clear)	3298 <sup>1</sup>
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Total:	<u>4189<math>\frac{3}{4}</math> <u>Huns</u></u>
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The 1000 Bargirs were divided into 500 Sa'ises, 100 Pakhalis, 100 Mish'alchis, 200 Kabadis and 100 Bargirs and received in all the monthly pay of 1925 Huns, that is the same amount as was received by the 1000 Bargirs maintained by the Panj-Hazari.

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1. There is a serious mis-print on page 232, where this figure is given as 3289 Huns. A query from the Central Record Office, Haidarabad has removed this ambiguity. They have informed the present writer that the original text of the manuscript (under discussion) clearly states 3298 Huns and not 3289 Huns as erroneously published in the Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign.



A Jumladar or a commander of 100 commanded

<u>Horsemen</u>	<u>Shagird Pesha</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Total pay p.m.</u>
88	100	100	90 $\frac{3}{4}$ <u>Huns</u> .

cost of feeding 100 horses = 300 Huns or 3 Huns per horse p.m.

Out of 88 horsemen, 16 Khasas received their pay under:-

Their leader commanding 4 horses received: 25 Huns p.m.

Majmu'adar's pay: 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  Huns p.m.

Muharrar's pay : 5 Huns p.m.

the remaining 13 horsemen @ 4 Huns each: 52 Huns p.m.

Total: 90 $\frac{3}{4}$  Huns p.m.

The remaining 72 horsemen were grouped under 8 Havalgars, who commanded 8 horsemen each:

8 Havalgar's pay @ 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  Huns each p.m. = 66 Huns

64 horsemen's pay @ 4 Huns each p.m. = 256 Huns

Total: 322 Huns.

Out of 100 Shagird Pesha, 50 Sa'is @ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns each p.m. = 75 Huns

10 Pakhalis @ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns each p.m. = 25 Huns

20 Kabadis @ 3 Huns each p.m. = 60 Huns

10 Mish'alchis @ 2 Huns each p.m. = 20 Huns

10 Shagird Pesha @ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Huns each p.m. = 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns

Total: 100.

Total: 192 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns.



A Havaladar (rank-holder of 10) commanded

<u>Horsemen</u>	<u>Shagird Pesha</u>	<u>Horses</u>	Total pay p.m.
9	10	10	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ <u>Huns</u>

cost of feeding 10 horses = 30 Huns or 3 Huns per horse p.m.

Havaladar's pay = 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  Huns p.m.

His 8 horsemen's pay

@ 4 Huns each p.m. = 32 Huns.

The contingent of his Shagird Pesha consisted of 10 persons as given below:-

5 Sa'is getting 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns p.m.

1 Pakhali earning 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns p.m.

1 Mish'alchi having 2 Huns p.m.

2 Kabaddi making 6 Huns p.m.

1 Miscellaneous gaining 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns p.m.

Total: 10

Total: 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  Huns

The above-mentioned particulars lead to the following conclusions:-

A horseman whether serving under a Havaladar, Jumladar, Hazari or Panj-Hazari always received 4 Huns per mensem.

Amongst the Shagird Pesha, the Kabaddi was the highest paid man getting 3 Huns per mensem, while the rest of the Bargirs received invariably from 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Huns to 2 Huns per mensem.

Three Huns - the cost of maintain<sup>in</sup>g an horse showed the importance of the animal.



Thevenot<sup>1</sup>, the French traveller who visited Golconda in 1665-68 mentioned that a Persian or Turkish trooper's pay was 16 Huns per mensem, out of which he had to keep two horses and four or five servants. A Persian or Turkish foot-soldier was paid five Huns per mensem and he was required to keep two servants and carry a musket. A Hindu foot-soldier was paid two or three Rupees a month and was required to carry only a lance or a pike. These assertions of Thevenot cannot be accepted at their face value, as most of his judgements were sweeping and superficial. It is difficult to believe that a Hindu foot soldier's pay could have been as low as two or three Rupees a month, i.e., about half Hun only, when the document above gives it as two Huns. Thevenot's estimate of the Persians however corresponds fairly closely with the figures given in that record.

The Khasa Khail:-As a counterpoise to the mercenaries (Silahdars etc) scattered throughout the kingdom, over whom the central government exercised no control, the state in addition to its own armies, also maintained the Khasa Khail - a body of household troopers, who had no one to look to for orders except their royal master. They were fed, clothed and fully maintained by the state. They were the only troops

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1. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. Surendranath Sen. New Delhi, 1949. p. 140.



upon whom the Shah could place reliance and who would follow his fortunes loyally. They usually consisted of the Turks, Mughals, Persians and very rarely of the Deccanis. The watch and ward of the royal palace was a monopoly of this class of troopers and their officer in charge was the Sar i Pardehदार, who was sometimes also entrusted with delicate missions by the Shah. Haji Lar, the Sar i Pardehदार was commanded to arrest the refractory chief Dev Nayak and his son<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf, the Sar i Pardehदार of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, during Jai Singh's invasion of Bijapur in 1665, was directed to mix poison in the wells and fountains of the city and its suburbs and also to destroy her standing crops and the gardens in order to cause serious harassment to the invaders.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the paucity of the material, it is ~~is not~~ not possible to determine the actual number of the Khasa Khail.

The Khasa Khail generally consisted of foreigners, but under the non-Pardesi regents in Bijapur, their composition underwent a change. The Regent Kamal Khan Deccani, in order to consolidate his power, dismissed 2700 Mughals of the Khasa Khail retaining only 300, and it was the latter who were prominent in his demotion by Isma'il 'Adil Khan.<sup>3</sup>

1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, f. 189. 90b.

2. 'Ali Nama, Nusrati. BM Ms Add 26527, f. 111a.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II. pp. 26-30.



Yusuf Turk - the assassin of Kamal Khan Deccani - was also a member of the Khasa Khail.<sup>1</sup> Isma'il 'Adil Khan, who owed his position to the unstinted support of the Pardesi troopers of the Khasa Khail, had banned the recruitment of Deccani and Habshis in this special corps; later, when his needs became pressing, he allowed Afghans and Rajputs to be enlisted in the Khasa Khail but not the Deccanis and the Habshis.<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, however, reversed this order.<sup>3</sup> He commanded that his Khasa Khail should consist essentially of Deccani and Habshis and amongst the Pardesis only Sunnis and not Shi'a should be recruited as soldiers. 'Ali 'Adil Shah I selected the best 3000 amongst the Sayyids, Arabs and Persians for his Khasa Khail.<sup>4</sup> In the battles waged by the 'Adil Shahs from time to time, the Khasa Khail had displayed utmost loyalty. Yusuf 'Adil Khan recaptured Goa from the Portuguese with the help of his Khasa Khail of 2000 or 3000 troops consisting of <sup>both</sup> Pardesis and Deccani.<sup>5</sup> The extreme loyalty of the Khasa Khail to Isma'il 'Adil Khan can be gauged from the fact that

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1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan, vol. 3, pp. 284-85.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 31.

3. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, op.cit. vol. 3, p. 305. Asad Khan Lari, who was commissioned to carry out this order, did not strictly obey it; of course he retained only 400 out of 1000 Khasa Khail of foreigners, but did nothing against the Shi'a troopers.

4. Ibid. vol. 3, p. 327.

5. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 21.



in 1520, in the course of military operations against Ramaraja, Isma'il 'Adil Khan in a state of drunkenness jumped into the river in a desperate bid against the foe and the Khasa Khail in order <sup>to save</sup> their master recklessly plunged themselves into the valley of death.<sup>1</sup> In extreme cases, the king used to send the Khasa Khail into the battlefield under his trusted commanders and this was regarded as a great favour to them, for example, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I directed Asad Khan Lari to conquer the Qutb Shahi fort of Kokani and favoured him with permission to lead the Khasa Khail.<sup>2</sup> When efforts were being made to oust the Regent Ikhlas Khan Habshi, his rival Dilawar Khan Habshi earned the favour of the minor Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II and of his Khasa Khail, which greatly increased his powers and helped him to supersede Ikhlas Khan Habshi.<sup>3</sup> When Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II later endeavoured to oust the Regent Dilawar Khan Habshi, it was again the unstinted devotion of the Khasa Khail that helped the former to achieve success.<sup>4</sup>

In Golconda, however, the Pardesis monopolised the Khasa Khail throughout. Ibrahim Qutb Shah was so considerate to them that he would often invite many of them to dinner.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol. 3. p. 291.

2. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, 55.

3. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 106.

4. Ibid. vol. 2. pp. 126-28.

5. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 333.



A bloody war of succession threatened on the accession of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, but was averted through the steadfast loyalty of the Khasa Khail.<sup>1</sup> It was at the suggestion of the Musa, Mahaldar, a prominent member of the Khasa Khail that Abu'l-Hasan was nominated as the ruler of Golconda.<sup>2</sup> In the declining days of the dynasty, the Khasa Khail became a predominant factor in state politics. The execution of Diwan Madanna and Akanna, the premier<sup>nobles</sup> of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah was carried out with their connivance.<sup>3</sup>

The Khasa Khail, then, was an important body of troopers maintained by the Deccani rulers and it was from amongst them that the higher officers were recruited. Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, both started their career in the Khasa Khail.<sup>4</sup> Khusrau Aqa Lari, another Khasa Khail, who played an important part in the overthrow of the Regent Kamal Khan Deccani, had the title of Asad Khan Lari conferred upon him and was made a big jagirdar.<sup>5</sup>

Size of the armies:-Owing to the lack of relevant data, it is not possible to estimate accurately the number of armies of these states. Scattered references, however, do help us

1. Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, BM Ms Add 6542, ff. 205b-206a.

2. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol. 3. p. 408.

3. Ibid. vol. 3. p. 419.

4. Ibid. vol. 3. pp. 271, 368.

5. Ibid. vol. 3. p. 288.



to form ~~an~~ an approximate idea of their strength, which was contributed by the jagirdars, officers of the crown lands and the Khasa Khail .

Yusuf 'Adil Khan's army:-12,000 cavalry, 40,000 infantry and 37 elephants<sup>1</sup>. When he attacked Goa in 1510, he commanded an army of 60,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry<sup>2</sup>.

The Regent Kamal Khan Deccani's army numbered 20,000 Deccani and Habshi cavalry at the time when all plans for his assumption of kingship were ready<sup>3</sup>.

Isma'il 'Adil Khan:-When he attacked Krishnadeva Raya at Raichur in 1520, he commanded 120,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry and 150 elephants<sup>4</sup>. His army also included some Portuguese soldiers<sup>5</sup>.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I:-30,000 cavalry, 230,000 infantry and 450 elephants<sup>6</sup>. When he attacked Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk in 1536, he commanded 100,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry.<sup>7</sup>

'Ali 'Adil Shah I:-cavalry 80,000 and the infantry double that

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.24.

2. Asia Portuguesa, Manuel de Faria Y Souza. vol.1. p.138.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II. p.26.

4. Asia Portuguesa, op.cit. vol.1. p.193.

5. Ibid.

6. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.67.

7. Asia Portuguesa, op.cit. vol.1. p.317.



number.<sup>1</sup> When he attacked the Portuguese in 1570, his army numbered 100,000 armed men and innumerable followers; 35,000 horses, over 2140 elephants and 350 pieces of artillery.<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II:-cavalry 50,000 and double that number infantry and 955 elephants.<sup>3</sup>

Muhammad 'Adil Shah:-cavalry 80,000 , 200,000 infantry and 530 elephants<sup>4</sup> and according to another version 350,000 cavalry and innumerable infantry and 15,00 elephants.<sup>5</sup> The latter seems improbable.

'Ali 'Adil Shah II:-80,000 cavalry<sup>6</sup> and nothing is known about the infantry

Under the demoralised regimes of the Regents (1672-86), no figures about the size of their armies are available.

These figures show that there was a steady increase in the numbers in the army from reign to reign, as the Bijapur territories increased. The kingdom of Bijapur under Muhammad 'Adil Shah was the most extensive of all the 'Adil Shahis, and that is why, there was a tremendous increase in his military establishment. These figures show the total number

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.151.

2. Asia Portuguesa, Manuel de Faria Y Souza. vol.2. p.490.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.283.

4. Ibid. p.346.

5. Ibid.

6. Mackenzie ~~General~~ Collection General. vol.43. p.356.



of troops maintained by the kings in their capital and also by their officers in the crown lands and jagirdars. It is not possible to find out the quota of jagirdars, officers of the crown lands and the Khasa Khail.

As far as the total strength of the Qutb Shahi forces is concerned, nothing is known about the earlier period. Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, who ruled Talingana for sixty years both as a Tarafdar and an independent ruler had to fight from within and without for almost the whole duration of his reign. Jamshid Quli encountered many hostile forces during five years out of the seven of his rule and annihilated all of them. This would have been possible without a large force. With <sup>not</sup> the prosperous reigns of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, armies were no doubt organised on a new footing, but no hint as to their number can be traced. Thevenot<sup>1</sup>, the French traveller, who visited Golconda in 1665-68, mentions 500,000 as the total strength of the Qutb Shahi forces - consisting of both the central armies and those of the jagirdars. Out of this total, 40,000 horsemen, Persians, Mughals or Tartars lived in the capital.<sup>2</sup> This is the only reference available to us about the military strength of Golconda, but it seems that our informant is erring on the side of over-estimation.

1. India in Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. Surendranath Sen. New Delhi, 1949. p. 140.

2. Ibid. p. 135.



Weapons of War:-According to Barbosa,<sup>1</sup> the Deccan cavalry carried maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle with very long arrows, so that every cavalier possessed arms enough for two persons; and the infantry carried swords and daggers, bows and arrows, they were good archers and mostly Hindus. These instruments of warfare demanded little or no technical knowledge, but only <sup>individual</sup> ~~undivided~~ skill. Hand to hand fighting was the fashion of the times and therefore, every able-bodied person was a potential soldier. With such weapons, no change in the methods of warfare could be expected. The large scale employment of Marathas in the Bijapur armies, however, did bring in a new strategy of war, eluding and baffling the enemy as much as possible, cutting off supplies and night attacks etc. In this way, warfare became more desultory and predatory, with the result that the country and the peasants suffered more than the armies. The armies of Golconda also behaved similarly.

Though there was no dearth of arms, the most difficult problem of supply was the acquisition of horses. The Deccan had no good breed of horses before the coming of the Muslims. The Rashtrakutas had used to import their horses from Arabia.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, tr. and ed. M.L. Dames, Hakluyt, London, 1918. vol. 1. pp. 180-81.

2. Ibid. vol. 1. p. 181.

3. The Rashtrakutas and their times, A.S. Altekar. Poona, 1934. p. 249.



At the time of Marco Polo, the kingdom of Thana was importing its army horses from Arabia; the traffic in horses was so great in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that no ship came to India without horses in addition to other cargo.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Muslim rulers of the Deccan had to import horses from Arabia and Persia.<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the masters of the Arabian Sea and their occupation of the port of Goa since 1510 was a constant source of humiliation to the 'Adil Shahi kings, and that is why, their relations with the Portuguese were anything but cordial.<sup>3</sup> Cargoes of horses from the Arabian countries used to be landed at Goa and their supply could be denied to any Deccani power by the Portuguese. The relations of the Regent Kamal Khan Deccani with the Portuguese owing to the loss of Goa became very strained and he suffered an acute shortage of horses for his contingents on account of their denial to him by the Portuguese. This circumstance forced him to permit his subordinates, if they could not get good horses for their cavalry to use even weak or small country-bred horses or ponies.<sup>4</sup> It was from sheer expediency that every Deccani

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1. Travels of Marco Polo, Sir Henry Yule's edition, edited by Henri Cordier. London, 1926. vol. 2. p. 391.

2. The Commentaries of the Great Affonso D'albuquerque, tr. from Portuguese edition of 1774 with notes and introduction by Walter de Grey. Hakluyt, London, 1884. vol. 4, p. 125.

3. P. M. Joshi, "Relations between the 'Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the 16th century". Sir Denison Ross Presentation Volume, Bombay, 1939. p. 161.

4. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol. 3. p. 283.



ruler including the 'Adil Shah himself, had to keep on good terms with the Portuguese in order to maintain his cavalry efficiently. The contemporary foreign travellers<sup>1</sup> mention the very high prices of horses and P.M.Joshi<sup>2</sup> on the basis of their figures and also keeping in view the purchasing power of money in those days has calculated that the price of a horse ranged from £100/- to £200/- at pre-war values and sometimes a specially good horse fetched an even higher price. The cavaliers regarded the horse as their most important accoutrement, as in the event of its loss during battle, they were not compensated by the state in any way and therefore, they had to think several times before charging.

Owing to the extreme importance of the horses, one can imagine that the states of Bijapur and Golconda must have maintained stables of horses under the supervision of very capable officers. The Mughals had established a separate department meant only for the care of the horses, but our sources are silent on the nature of such a department. This should not mean that it never existed but it only means that our sources are very weak.

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1. The Voyage of John Huygen Van Linschoten to the East Indies  
Eng. tr A.C. Burnell and P.A. Thiele. Hakluyt, London. 1885.  
vol. 1. p. 54.  
The Book of Duarte Barbosa. vol. 1. p. 65.  
The travels of John Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies.  
Eng. tr John Davies. 2nd edition. London, 1869. p. 8.
  2. P.M. Joshi, "Relations between the 'Adil Shahi kingdom and the Portuguese in the 16th century". Sir Denison Ross Presentation. Bombay, 1939. p. 163.
- Volume



Artillery:-Artillery was an important arm, its very possession marked a distinction between the royal troops and those of the jagirdars.

P.K.Gode's assertion<sup>1</sup> that artillery was introduced into the Deccan somewhere in the middle of the fifteenth century, does not seem to be correct for the following reasons:-

He has based his conclusion upon a partial reading of Matla'u's-Sa'din<sup>2</sup>, whose author visited the Vijayanagar court in 1443 and mentioned the use of pyrotechny at the Mahanavami\*\*\* festival in that city. The earliest reference to the use of artillery in the Deccan is, however, found not in 1443 but in 1365, when Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani I (1358-75) installed a fire-arm factory ~~in 1365~~ at his capital.<sup>3</sup> In the next year, the Sultan besieged the fort of Adoni, a possession of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and cannon were used under the supervision of his Faringin employees.<sup>4</sup> Shahabu'd-din Ahmad Bahmani I has been credited with the introduction of new artillery techniques<sup>5</sup>. 'Ali bin 'Aziz Ullah Tabatabai,<sup>6</sup> while narrating

1. P.K.Gode, "Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India from 1400 A.D. onwards". Sir Denison Ross Presentation Volume. p.121.

2. Matla'u's-Sa'din, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq. Ed. Muhammad Shafi'. 2nd edition. Lahore, 1949. vol.2, ii--iii, p.819.

3. Encyclopaedia of Islam, article on Barud. p.1068. vol.1., Fasciculus 17. London, 1959.

4. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), I, p.552.

5. Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, 'Abdu'r-Qadir Badaoni. Ed. Maulvi Ahmad 'Ali. vol.3. p.68. Bib. Ind. London, 1868. The Sultan ruled from 1422-36.

6. Burhan i Ma'asir, BM Ms Add 9996, ff.102b-103a.

\*\*\*. Mahanavami:-The last day of the 9 days or nights dedicated to the worship of Durga in Aswin, the last day of the Durga Puja.



Mahmud Gawan's second campaign against Belgaum (1472) also described the wrecking of its ramparts with guns and the havoc wrought by them had greatly impressed him. Sultan Mahmud Baykara with the help of his Turkish gunners sank a large Portuguese ship at Diu.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the Deccan had made more rapid strides in artillery than the North because of her more numerous contacts with the Turks and the Europeans - both recognised to be excellent artillerymen. Thus by the time the states of Bijapur and Golconda had come into existence, artillery was not a novelty. The Portuguese historian Faria Y Souza mentioned that Yusuf 'Adil Khan attacked Goa with heavy artillery in 1510<sup>2</sup> and when in the same year on the death of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, the Portuguese recaptured Goa, they found vast quantities of cannon and military stores therein.<sup>3</sup> The Turkish gunners were gladly employed by the rulers of the Deccan and they were generally known as Aqa - a title often found in contemporary inscriptions and works. Thus we read of

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam. p.1068. vol.1. Fasciculus 17, London, 1954.

2. Asia Portuguesa. vol.1. pp.136-37, 138.

3. Ibid. vol.1. p.1. pp.136-37. In 1520, when Raichur was invaded by Krishnadeva Raya, Isma'il 'Adil Khan defended it with his powerful artillery. Ibid. vol.1, p.195.



Aqa Murad, the Turkish Governor of the fort of Parenda in 1549,<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Aqa, an officer of the fort of Yadgir in 1557,<sup>2</sup> another Muhammad Aqa, commander of the fort of Shahdrug in the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II<sup>3</sup> and Aqa Rizwan, commander of Parenda fort on behalf of Burhan Nizam Shah in 1632.<sup>4</sup>

Henry Cousens has mentioned thirteen guns of Bijapur, the most conspicuous amongst them were Malik Maidan, Kharak Bijli, Landa Qasab and Lamchari.<sup>5</sup> The Malik i Maidan was made by Muhammad Hasan Rumi in 1549;<sup>6</sup> it was originally in the possession of the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar and was taken as a trophy of war in 1632 by Muhammad 'Adil Shah. This was the biggest and the heaviest of all the guns and probably it was employed to fire grape-shot upon soldiery at close quarters.

Artillery was at first mostly employed in the sieges and not in the field. In the historic Battle of Talikota (1565), it was utilised in the open by both sides. The Muslims utilised the famous Malik i Maidan gun on that occasion,<sup>7</sup>

1. G. Yazdani, "Parenda, an historical fort". Report Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1921-24. p. 19.

2. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1929-30. p. 3.

3. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, p. 101.

4. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 295.

5. Notes on the Buildings and other antiquarian remains, pp. 51-55.

6. Ibid. transcript no. 415, p. 86 - an inscription on this gun. Its weight was 2646  $\frac{7}{8}$  pounds. During the siege of Bijapur in 1686, it was used against Aurangzeb's forces and its gunner was Ghulam Dass.

7. Army of the Indian Moguls, W. Irvine. London, 1903. p. 127.

Bijapur and its architectural remains, Henry Cousens. Bombay, 1916. p. 30.



and employed Turkish gunners trained in the European wars.<sup>1</sup> After this event, artillery came to be employed in the open. Khawas Khan Habshi inflicted a crushing defeat on Shivaji in open battle with the help of his artillery.<sup>2</sup> The guns of those days were, however, very heavy and cumbersome. Their main contribution must have been to terrify the soldiers and the animals on the opposite side by their great noise in the battlefield; the long intervals at which they could be fired and the small area of destruction brought about by their solid balls were serious drawbacks to their effectiveness. Owing to their huge volume, they could not move along difficult passes or cross the bridges thrown over the rivers, and particularly during the rainy season, they were nothing short of a liability.

Khafi Khan<sup>3</sup> refers to the air-guns of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II stating that in 1668, the latter's general Yaqut Khan fixed the air-guns on the trees at night and fired them in the direction of Danda Rajpuri, where the forces of Shivaji were stationed. It seems that these guns were a sort of light artillery. This description is very curious, but he is our only source to mention the mysterious air-guns and has left us in the dark

1. Studies in the history of the third dynasty of Vijayanagar  
V. Ramanayya. Madras, 1935. p. 129.

2. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 401.

3. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, ed. Maulvi Kabiru'd-din Ahmad. Calcutta, 1874. vol. 2. p. 226. The Persian words used are توپ ہوائی.



about their structure etc.

As for the guns of the kingdom of Golconda, our sources are silent, but this does not mean that she was without them. In the period when she became a tributary of the Mughals, we do hear of her Top i Haidari and Top i Laila Majnun. One must assume, however, that she did possess an efficient artillery, otherwise she could not have survived the ghastly struggles she had to face with her neighbours throughout her long history.

Elephants:-The elephants formed an effective part of the army as their size and numbers struck terror in the hearts of the enemy. They carried on their backs small citadels loaded with soldiers, well armed and equipped with bows, arrows, harquebuses and other weapons. These animals were so well trained that they used to charge both the soldiers and their horses.<sup>1</sup> They were also ~~x~~ utilised in smashing the door defences of the forts.<sup>2</sup> They were very useful while crossing the rivers, as they could withstand the velocity of the waves, and thus helped the armies to cross. They were also utilised for the sake of displaying the commander at a conspicuous place in the battlefield, so that his followers might be

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1. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Eng tr M.L.Dames. Hakluyt, London. 1918. vol. 1. p. 118.

2. The Strongholds of India, Sidney Toy. London, 1957. p. 7.



heartened by his presence, as his disappearance meant a signal for flight.

As already discussed in the preceding pages, the rulers of the Deccan possessed a large number of elephants and usually of the choicest quality. The price of an elephant was 1500 Cruzados according to Barbosa<sup>1</sup>, which amounted to £750/- as estimated by M.L.Dames in 1918<sup>2</sup>.

Under the Mughals, there was a separate department for the maintenance of the elephants and every elephant was served by servants ranging from two to five, <sup>3</sup>Mahawat, <sup>4</sup>Bho'i and several <sup>5</sup>Met'hs. Similarly we can assume that the states of Bijapur and Golconda did maintain such a department for their large number of elephants, though we have no data on this subject.

Defects in the military system:- During the first hundred years<sup>6</sup> history of these states, none of them had a standing army.

They had to depend upon their jagirdars. Whenever any noble

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1. The Book of Duarte Barbosa. vol.1.p.118.

2. Ibid. vol.1.p.118, foot note 2.

3. He sits on the neck and directs its movements.

4. He sits behind upon the rump of the elephant and assists in battle and in quickening the speed of the animal; but he often performs the duties of the Mahawat.

5. They fetch fodder and assist in capturing the elephant.

6. But of course they possessed the small body of Khasa Khail.



was put in command of the forces, before proceeding to the battlefield, he would usually put forth some excuses or make excessive demands for men and money, and only then could he be persuaded to start. There were also chances of his desertion to the enemy if he were offered a higher post and many instances of such acts of <sup>dis</sup>loyalty are on record. The most conspicuous example is that of 'Ainu'l-Mulk,<sup>1</sup> the commander in chief of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who was successfully seduced by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I. Within a brief space of time, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I suspected 'Ainu'l-Mulk of treacherous conduct and thought of ruining him altogether. But 'Ainu'l-Mulk was more <sup>h</sup>an a match for the Shah. He defeated his master's forces everywhere and was on the verge of extinguishing the 'Adil Shahi dynasty altogether, when the timely help of Ramaraja saved the situation.

The death of the commander was a signal for the flight of his followers as that meant the loss of their paymaster and naturally the soldiers were more concerned with their pay than with the ultimate end of the battle. Though the soldiers were generally brave even to the point of recklessness, they were always reluctant to lose their horses, as that meant a big financial loss without hope of compensation from any quarter.

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, pp. 60-63.



In a battle where the armies of the ruler consisted of the contingents of various jagirdars, their mutual bickerings and personal jealousies constituted a serious menace. In 1578, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I deputed Murtaza Khan along with other six grandees including the Naikwari chiefs Jut Rao and Naik Rao to chastise the refractory Naikwaris.<sup>1</sup> Jut Rao and Naik Rao, during the course of operations were found to be conniving with the rebels and indirectly impeding the progress of the royal troops with the result that the expedition, which might have ended in few days, took a long time to come to a successful close.

These defects were, however, to some extent, remedied, when in the early seventeenth century, the Deccani rulers began to have standing armies of their own and spent huge amounts of money on their maintenance. Of course the armies of their jagirdars also played a supplementary part whenever needed by the central government. But still some jealousy between these two kinds of armies was often felt. These defects, however, were common to the armies of all the contemporary rulers of India.

The Umara of these states, though often of dubious loyalty

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1. Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, B.N. Paris. P.S. 189, ff. 88b-90a.



to their master, could <sup>not</sup> in general tolerate the idea of his total extinction at the hands of the Mughals. The disgruntled elements from the Mughal Empire who had sought permanent residence in these states were particularly loyal in this respect. The Surs and Lodis who on the establishment of the Mughal Empire had fled to the Deccan were offered high positions in these states. These nobles at times did disobey their new masters, but whenever their adopted home was threatened by Mughal aggression, they invariably sank their differences and offered a front to the enemy. That is why, Aurangzeb had to employ all the extensive resources of his Empire for the subjugation of these petty states in 1686 and 1687 respectively and he had learnt to his cost that the task was not at all an easy one.



The Muslim state was highly centralised in the sense that the local authorities had no clearly defined powers that could not be arbitrarily disturbed by the centre, which was more elaborately organised than the local government. There is an acute paucity of material as far as the local government of the states of Bijapur and Golconda is concerned. Similarity of the administrative structure of the Bahmani succession states leads us to believe that there was not any very significant difference in the local governmental institutions of these states.

These states did not have provincial divisions like the Bahmani kingdom. Before 1565, none of them was extensive enough to have provinces of its own, rather each state was parcelled into jagirs. Ferishta<sup>1</sup> speaks vaguely of a sort of provincial governorship of Goa under Mian Muhammad 'Ainu'l-Mulk, in the reign of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, but we know nothing about the sub-divisions of the rest of his dominions. When Yusuf 'Adil Khan conquered the jagirs of Dastur Dinar, he administered them directly under his own supervision.<sup>2</sup> Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi<sup>3</sup> has alluded to the division of Bijapur into provinces in the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, but has given us no instances of such divisions or of the day to day working of the provincial government. The contemporary writers also

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1. Tarikh i Ferishta (Briggs), II, pp. 14-15.

2. Ibid. II, 17.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 350.



offer no help in this matter. A Farman of Muhammad 'Adil Shah in 1646 stated that the Subahdari and Sar i Lashkari of the West Carnatic was conferred on Mabarizu'd-din, a minister of the state.<sup>1</sup> The Bijapuri state papers about Shahji Bhonsla stated that Muhammad 'Adil Shah appointed Afzal Khan Muhammad Shahi in 1658 as the Subahdar of the West Carnatic.<sup>2</sup> In 1661, 'Ali 'Adil Shah II conferred the governorship of the provinces of Madura and Tanjore on Shahji Bhonsla.<sup>3</sup> These three definite references about the newly conquered territories lead us to assume that the new conquests were placed under a governor-cum-commander in chief, but as far the rest of the kingdom, the old system of jagirdari in general remained in force as hitherto. Thus generally speaking, there was no provincial division in the kingdom of Bijapur, though the new conquests were placed under provincial governors by Muhammad 'Adil Shah and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II. Under their successor Sikandar 'Adil Shah, no provinces are heard of.

Even for the regimes of Muhammad 'Adil Shah and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, when provinces are heard of, we have no accounts of the way in which the provincial governors governed. All that we do know from the Farman is that the governor had both the supreme civil and military power in his hands. He collected

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farman 19.

2. House of Shivaji, Sir J.N. Sarkar. Calcutta, 1948. p. 82.

3. Ibid. p. 86.



the land revenue and other taxes from the people; after having kept a portion of this money for administrative expenses, he was required to remit the balance to the centre. In civil administration, he was helped by the Qazi, Havaladar and an army of Hindu accountants.

In Golconda also, there is no mention of provinces in her early history and the era of expansion dawned only after 1565. In 1636, she was reduced to the status of a tributary of the Mughals and was permitted to expand towards the Carnatic, which led to her greater prosperity and more extensive territories. When that expansion had taken place, Golconda was divided into six provinces of which the East Carnatic was the biggest and the most important strategically. Muhammad Sa'id, well known in history as Mir Jumla, Neknam Khan, Muhammad Ibrahim, Akanna and Chinappa were the successive governors of this rich province. But for our present study, Golconda ceases to be of any interest after 1636, when she became a tributary state and till 1636, there were no provincial divisions in that kingdom.

We have no means of ascertaining the administrative system prevailing in the tributary states under Bijapur and Golconda, though we do know that annual tribute was regularly paid by them to their respective overlords. Under Bijapur, there were twenty two tributary states paying in all over



five crores of Rupees per annum<sup>1</sup>, or in other words, about half of the royal income came from these tributaries. The peshkash was mostly paid in the form of elephants, jewels, diamonds and other precious articles. Of her tributaries, the zamindar of Sarirang Patan paid over three crores of Rupees. the annual tribute, the rest contributed smaller amounts. The rest of the tributaries were the zamindars of Sondha, Chital Wark, Chiri, Tarkhera, Ratan Gari, Sarhiti, Yadgir, Malak Pala, Chak Pala, Kurti Kira, Manuri, Hakal Wari, Harpan Hali, Kankuri, Kanak Giri, Balari, Kori Kota, Sakarko and the zamindarni (female) of Gundi.

These names are very obscure and most of them cannot be traced in the map, because they were petty esta<sup>t</sup>es. Similarly our information about the tributaries of Golconda is very scanty. In the Mughal India, the Hindu hereditary jagirdars were less grasping in money matters than the Mughals because of old relations with the tenants and probably same was the case as far their counterparts in the Deccan were concerned, though this is a mere speculation.

Local Units:-The states of Bijapur and Golconda were divided into parganas, tarafs or Qaryats and mouza's or villages. The pargana was rarely of a uniform size and varied from place to place. Several tarafs or Qaryats made a pargana. A taraf

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1. Basatinu's-Salatin, pp. 348-49.



consisted of an indefinite number of villages, which formed the lowest units of administration. The tarafs and parganas were generally entrusted to the amirs and wazirs of the court in the form of jagirs; the jagirdar very often stayed in the capital and the administration of his territories was carried on by his nominees known as Havaldars and Thanedars, who transacted the day to day administration with the help of the hereditary officials and landholders.

Administration of the pargana:-Whether the pargana was held in jagir by an amir or administered directly by the government, its administrative organs, on the whole, appeared to have remained the same. It was with the help of the hereditary officials of the pargana that the jagirdar or the central government ran its administration. The hereditary officials were the Deshmukh, Deshmukh, Sheta and Mahajan.

In the Deccan, the Deshmukh or Desai was the principal revenue officer of a pargana. His office was hereditary ~~was~~ and was frequently recompensed by the grants of land. His functions were the same as those of a village Muqadam<sup>1</sup>, but covered a number of villages of a pargana. He was also the military leader of the villages; he was to defend his fellow villagers with the help of ~~his~~ the local militia, to ward off freebooters and thieves. Being a military leader of the

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1. For details see the section on the village administration.



villagers, an unscrupulous Deshmukh would sometimes lead an attack against the neighbouring villages. Thus in 1649, Muhammad 'Adil Shah issued a Farman<sup>1</sup> stating that the "Desai, Patels and Watchmen of the villages in the pargana of Bankapur having become refractory and insolent, were ravaging the places in their neighbourhood and Hanumant Goundah, the Desai of the pargana of Kotal was ordered to place all his horsemen and retinue at the disposal of the Havaladar of Bankapur so that the miscreants could be brought to book".

It was also his function to help the government in arresting criminals and other undesirables who had fled from justice. The Deshmukh of Kotal was highly complimented in 1625 by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, when the former exerted himself in the chastisement of the ~~rebel~~ "vile Kankanna"<sup>2</sup>. In 1639, Muhammad 'Adil Shah ordered the Deshmukh of Lukmeshar to co-operate with the commander Sidi Mooflah, so that the relations, dependents, servants and horses of Shahji might be arrested.<sup>3</sup> In 1654, an 'Adil Shahi Farman declared "the appointment of Malik Rihan for the chastisement of the vile Charkal Kar"....and Hanumant Goundah, the Desai of the pargana of Kotal was commanded that "on the receipt of that fate-like Farman, he should send his troops and other necessary munitions for besieging a

1.W.Elliot Collection, I.O.Ms Eur.F.50. Farman 21.

2.Ibid. Farman 5.

3.Ibid. Farman 8.



fort to the assistance of the said Malik of Nobles and by chastising the said bastard, manifest his loyalty"<sup>1</sup>.

The Deshpande was a hereditary accountant of a number of villages and his functions were the same as those of the Karnam<sup>la</sup> in a village. The Sheta was the supervisor of the market in charge of weights and measures and the Mahajan - a moneylender and a money changer - was his assistant. This set of four persons also formed the revenue officials of the land under the Yadavas and the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, in order to avail themselves of the experience and knowledge of these hereditary officers, seem to have confirmed them in their posts. These officials enjoyed grants of lands on account of their posts and were also called ~~Mirasdars~~ Watandars.<sup>2</sup> Besides the Watan-dars, there were also Mirasdars,<sup>3</sup> who possessed absolute hereditary rights of ownership of their lands. The Mirasdars and Watandars both enjoyed all powers concerning revenue, executive and to a greater extent in judicial affairs as well.

In addition to the Mirasdars and Watandars, there were also religious functionaries holding Maddad i M'ash lands. In a Farman dated 1642, Muhammad 'Adil Shah confirmed the grant of three pieces of land under cultivation to Qazi Qasim, the

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farman 24.

la. vide section on the village administration.

2. The Judicial System of the Marathas, Vithal Trimbak June, Poona, 1953. pp. 51-55.

3. Ibid.



Pesh Namazi<sup>1</sup> of the mosque of the mouza<sup>1</sup> of Paimura in the pargana of Kandal. These grants were made for his subsistence and the lighting of the mosque. To see that the religious grant is never tampered with by anybody, the offenders were threatened with dire consequences and it was also declared that "whosoever among the Musalmans shall interfere in this ever-continuing In'am, shall be excluded from the intercession of Muhammad (on the day of judgement) and will be involved in a hell of perturbation and if (anyone) among the Hindus disturbs it, it would be as if he had committed a great sin in Kashi".<sup>2</sup>

These local units, in order to look after their common interests, used to have a deliberative body called Gotasabha<sup>3</sup>, which consisted of Mirasdars and Watandars. Sometimes it also included as its members Gauldars, who held land on a renewable lease for a short period. The essential function of the Gotasabha was to look to the affairs of mutual interest and also to impart even-handed justice to its people. All local problems, social, economic, administrative and judicial, were within its purview, the only exception being serious criminal cases deserving capital punishment.

Diwan i pargana:-This body consisted purely of the non-hereditary officials of the locality. Its ex-officio

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1. The term shows the parties to be Shi'a. A Sunni would have said Pesh Imami, though in both cases it means the one who conducts prayers.

2. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50, Farman 22.

3. Gota is from the Sanskrit word Gotra meaning family or kinsman.



chairman was the Havalदार, who owed his appointment to the jagirdar if the pargana was a jagir. If pargana was directly under the central government, he was called Mokasadar.<sup>1</sup> He was assisted in his work by a Majmu'adar (record keeper) and a Mushrif<sup>2</sup> (an officer in the treasury who authenticates accounts). It was essentially an official body meant to solve administrative problems. No more details of this body are known.

The Pargana Majlis: This assembly occupied a prominent place in the local administrative system. Every pargana had a Qazi<sup>3</sup> and he was the ex-officio president of the Majlis. The Qazi always owed his appointment to the central government no matter whether the pargana was held by the jagirdar or was directly under the Shah. It was probably at his instance that the Diwan i pargana and Gotasabha held joint meetings.<sup>4</sup> This body thus consisted of government officers on the one hand and hereditary officers on the other, gathered together to solve local problems by common agreement. The decision of the Majlis was called Mahzar. The Mahzar was a sort of recommendation to the higher authorities to perform certain local acts. For example, when there was a dispute regarding

1. The Judicial System of the Marathas, Vithal Trimbak June. p.17.

2. Ibid.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p.350.

4. H.K. Sherwani, "The Administrative Set-up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah". Islamic Culture, July 1957. p.235.



property between the heirs of Shaikhu'l-Musha'kh Khond Mir, the Sajjada Nishin<sup>1</sup> of Kuntji in the taluk of Mubarikabad, it was settled by a Mahzar presented to 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, who incorporated it in his Farman dated 1579 and directed Faulad Khan, the Thanedar of the locality to enforce it.<sup>2</sup> In 1627, Muhammad 'Adil Shah enforced a Mahzar settling the boundary disputes between the jagirs of Shaikh Muhammad Junaidi and the temple of Jit Narayana.<sup>3</sup>

Brahamasabha and Jatisabha:-The Muslim rulers of the Deccan did not interfere in the personal law of the Hindus. The social and religious matters of the Hindus were decided by the Brahmasabha, which consisted of the learned Brahmans well versed in caste and religious laws. It also gave advice to the Pargana Majlis, whenever required to do so. It usually substantiated its views from quotations from the Sanskrit law books.

The Jatisabha was concerned only with the violation of caste regulations. The members of a caste could expel a fellow member if he disobeyed the usages of the Jati and also re-admit him if he was really penitent. The Muslim rulers of the Deccan were not interested in the Jatisabha. Not much is known about this body.

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1.It means the custodian of a shrine.

2.W.Elliot Collection,I.O.Ms Eur F.50. Farman 1.

3.Ibid. Farman 6.



Thus in the pargana, the most important body was the Pargana Majlis, which was expected to mitigate the rigour of the despotic state. It was summoned by the Qazi whenever the administrative needs demanded it. Whether it ideally endeavoured to make the government an enlightened one, is open to doubt, but it often helped the government in the discharge of its functions. The maintenance of law and order in the locality was a responsibility of the local officials.

Administration of the town:-The Havaladar was the supreme authority in the town and also in the neighbouring villages. Whether appointed by the central government or by the jagirdar, he was bound to ~~en~~ enforce the former's orders in his town and the areas around it. For example, in a Farman dated 1625, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II ordered the Havaladar and the officials of the pargana of Raybag (appointed by Shah Nawaz Khan) to set aright the boundary disputes between the villages of Sirgod, Chincholi and Nilji<sup>1</sup>. Whenever the Shah awarded Miraslands or jagirs, it was the duty of the Havaladar of the neighbouring areas to help the recipient in taking possession of the award. For instance, in a Farman dated 1643, Muhammad 'Adil Shah ordered N'imat Khan, the Havaladar of Bidnapur to make over the Mouza of Halhali to Sayyid 'Ali confirming to him the revenue collections with the fees on the royal seal, expenses for

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farman 4. For more examples see the section on the village administration.



buildings and contributions for erecting and repairing royal palaces".<sup>1</sup> In a Farman dated 1643, Muhammad 'Adil Shah ordered Sidi 'Ali, the Havalдар of Bankapur to take away the Miras of Sirnargoundgi of the pargana of ~~the pargana~~ Bankapur from Karim Muhammad Shirza and hand it over to the Khan of Goundah.<sup>2</sup> The Havalдар also enforced Mahzars approved by the government. If he found any of the notables helpful to him in the discharge of his official duties, he would recommend them to the government for favours. In a Farman dated 1625, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II complimented the Desai of Kotal for his steadfast loyalty and help in chastising the "bastard Kankana".<sup>3</sup> He sometimes sought the help of the Gotasabha to solve his problems, though its advice was not binding on him. The financial administration of the town was carried on by the Majmu'adar in the kingdom of Golconda,<sup>4</sup> but by an officer called Amin in that of Bijapur as already discussed in chapter v. Of course he was an immediate subordinate of the Havalдар and received his pay from the latter.

When Golconda became a tributary of the Mughals, her Havalдars (like their superior, the ruler of Golconda) were also

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farman 12.

2. Ibid. Farman 13.

3. Ibid. Farman 5. These compliments were paid to him on the recommendation of Mir 'Ali Raza, the Havalдар of Bankapur.

4. Ibid. Farman 47.



required to submit a peshkash to the Mughal Emperor<sup>1</sup> over and above their former dues. The amount of the peshkash had to be squeezed from the people and this was an additional tax they had to pay. As demoralisation crept into the administration of Golconda, the Havaldars assumed absolute powers. In order to purchase articles at cheaper rates, the Umara of the neighbouring states also sought his help. Bahlol Khan Lodi, an amir of Bijapur purchased bows, arrows and coats of mail at Haidarabad with the help of the local Havaldar.<sup>2</sup>

Forts:-Both the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda possessed forts at strategic places and their number greatly increased after the Muslims' victory at Talikota (1565). Bijapur commanded the forts of Naldrug, Yadgir, Sagar, Mudgal, Raichur, Gingee and a host of smaller forts.<sup>3</sup> Golconda traditionally possessed sixty six forts along the frontiers and its interiors<sup>4</sup> its most famous forts were Konda Veru, Kondapalli, Koilcunda, Ghanpura, Pangal and Kaulas.

Most of these forts, for example, Bijapur and Golconda, consisted of a city and a citadel, the latter either within the city or on its flank.<sup>5</sup> These forts generally had agricultural

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1. Selected Waga'i Deccan, ed. Yusuf Husain. Haidarabad, 1953.

Document 9.p.6. Dated August 25, 1661.

2. Ibid. Document 15, p.18. Dated September 6, 1661.

3. see p.234. Also E.I.M. 1929-30, p.2. E.I.M. 1931-32, p.9.

4. The Empire of the Great Mogol, De Laet. Eng tr. J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Bannerji. Bombay, 1928. p.74.

5. The Strongholds of India, Sidney Toy. London, 1957. p.2.



lands attached to them so that they could be self sufficient in food. They were rarely administered directly by the central government, but were usually entrusted to the grandees, who often handed them over to their deputies known as Na'ib i Ghibat. They were well stocked with provisions, artillery etc.

In the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, regulations were framed to keep a rigid control over the Qil'adars.<sup>1</sup> Only men of reliability, integrity and traditions of loyalty were appointed and they were liable to be transferred after every three years. In the fortified towns also, a Qazi, a Khatib and other officials were appointed to look to the needs of the people in accordance with the Shari'a. Every Qil'adar had 500 cavalry, so that he could protect the fort and administer the areas attached to it.<sup>2</sup> He also had 5,000 guards<sup>3</sup> of whom two-thirds were matchlockmen and one-third were Khisht Andaz.<sup>4</sup> Also stationed in the fort were a large number of veteran artillerymen and archers. Trustworthy news writers were posted to transmit news to the central government.

Great attention was paid to the question of entry into and exit from the fort. Before granting entry into the fort,

1. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 349. Qil'adar is the officer in charge of fort and Na'ib i Ghibat was the one deputising for him.

2. Ibid. p. 353.

3. These figures look much too large. The biggest forts like Raichur, Gingee or Bijapur might have had such large numbers but not minor forts like Yadgir.

4. It means the throwers of stones.



the gatekeeper carefully enquired into the antecedents of the new-comer, the place he hailed from, his destination and the period of his stay in the city.<sup>1</sup> The gate entrance was well-fortified and it was difficult to force one's entry into it. In order to make the door entrances impregnable, iron spikes in large numbers were fixed up to prevent them from being pushed open even by the mighty force, which elephants could otherwise have brought to bear upon them. The forts of Bijapur and Golconda were amply provided with such spikes on their gates.<sup>2</sup>

The forts of Golconda were mostly built on hills and only one narrow pathway led to them. No outsider was admitted inside without a permit. The major forts possessed 3,000 to 4,000 infantry and cavalry, but the smaller ones had 12,00.<sup>3</sup> Of the Golconda forts, Kondapalli and Golconda were the most commodious. Kondapalli had six castles, built on a hill with six concentric fortifications, each having a garrison of 12,000;<sup>4</sup> or in other words, it had 72,000 troops. (Such a vast figure seems obviously exaggerated). Probably what our informant meant was that the fort of Kondapalli was so extensive as could accommodate a garrison of 72,000. The fort of Golconda was also quite big and could contain 40,000 cavalry

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1.(The city and fort were generally the same). Whether these regulations were also enforced after Muhammad 'Adil Shah, we do not know. That period was generally one of disorders and we can assume that they were put in cold storage.

2.The Strongholds of India, Sidney Toy. London. 1957. p.6.

3.Relations of Golconda, ed W.H. Moreland. p.79

4.The Empire of the Great Mogol, De Laet. p.74.



at a time.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of soldiery in these forts consisted of Telugu soldiers commanded by their Naiks. Several forts exchanged information by means of torches at night. Kondapalli and Konda Veru forts at a distance <sup>of 40 miles</sup> from each other frequently exchanged messages in this way,<sup>2</sup> though we do not know how they did so.

Ports:-According to Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi,<sup>3</sup> the kingdom of Bijapur under Muhammad 'Adil Shah possessed eleven ports, Debal, Khul Sunari, Chaul, Sankar, Islam Bandar alias Rajapur, Salsati, Khari Patan, Bharchari, Satuni, Muhammadabad alias Sadhut and Khera. Their total income was Rs 97,000 per annum. The most paying ports were Rajapur fetching Rs 24,000 and Chaul Rs 15,000 respectively. The ports of Porto Novo and Negapatam were acquired by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II soon after the conquest of Gingee in 1659. All but one of these ports were conquered<sup>4</sup> by Shivaji between 1660 and 1675 and during the last years of Sikandar 'Adil Shah's reign, even this (i.e., Porto Novo) was taken by the Marathas.

The management of the port was entrusted to the Havaladar, who with a group of assistants charged customs on imports and exports. We do not know about the rates of the custom duties

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1. Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Khafi Khan. vol. 3. p. 384.

2. Relations of Golconda, ed W.H. Moreland. p. 12.

3. Basatinu's-Salatin, p. 347. Most of these ports have obscure names and are not traceable in the map.

4. A New Account of East India and Persia, J. Fryer. vol. 2, 58, 68. (ed. W. Crooke, Hakluyt, London, 1912.)



on imports and exports.

Some light is thrown on the customs administration by a Portuguese document of 1619<sup>1</sup>. This reports an enquiry made that year into the working of the custom house at Salsette. It was found that the only customs official, who assisted the farmers of the customs, was a native official who had inherited his post. When ordered to produce his authorities, the official called the Dangui<sup>2</sup>, replied that "his office went back to the time of the Canarese lordship in those lands, and that afterwards it had been preserved throughout the time of the Muslims and afterwards in the time of the Portuguese, until the present and that it had come down to him by descent .....and that his duty was to declare to the renters (of the custom house) what goods and other things were liable to pay duties, what amount each thing and type of goods paid, and what was the value of them .... these prices and orders were written in olden times on palm leaves, and because time was continually destroying and consuming them, their contents were transferred on to the paper of the Muslims, in the local language and that he, Dangui, now present, had transcribed the whole paper into Portuguese, since he could both read and write".

As examples of the charges, few items may be quoted:-

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1. Assentos do Conselho do Fazenda, II, ~~44~~. 145-52. (Ms in Goa).
  2. This is a very obscure name. Probably it is a nickname. In the Panjabi language, it means the one who stings. Since a customs officer was usually a fleecer of money, therefore, Dangui might possibly be his nickname.



All cloth coming from above the Ghats into the port of Salsette, of whatever sort they may be, shall pay on entry two and a half pagodas for hundred pagodas value - and the clerk shall have for affixing his stamp one Larin for hundred pagodas declared value, and the Dangui one Larin.

In every score of cambolins one cambolin shall be paid as dues; and five leals each to the clerk and the Dangui. The dues on copra shall be half a pagoda per candy.<sup>1</sup>

On horses, five Xerafins were charged for every hundred Xerafins of its value, and one Larin for the Dangui and one for the scribe.

Of every thousand coconuts imported, three were taken on duty, and on every candy of iron half a pagoda.

In all some sixty two different sorts of goods are listed with the duties and official fees payable on each one of them.

The most important port of Golconda was Masulipatam and it remained in her possession till 1687. According to Tavernier<sup>2</sup> it was the sole port from which vessels sailed for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin China, Hormuz, Madagascar and Sumatra. In richness and prosperity, it was in every respect a rival ~~not~~ of Surat, the chief port of the Mughals. It was so fertile

1. Candy or Kandy was equal to 20 Maunds; the Maund was equal to 26 lbs and therefore, Candy was equal to 520 lbs.

Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies, 1611-15, ed. W.H. Moreland. Hakulyt, London, 1934. pp. LXIX, 19.

2. Travels in India, Eng tr. V. Ball. ed. W. Crooke. OUP 1925. vol. 1. 141.



that in some places, two crops were obtained in one year and in others even three.<sup>1</sup> The rich diamond mines of Kollur were only 108 miles inland from this port. Indigo of a fine quality was produced in the regions adjoining Masulipatam, Kondapalli and Ellore. Saltpetre, tobacco, calicoes, pepper and cotton goods were exported from this port, but muslin of the choicest quality was its principal export.<sup>2</sup>

The chief officer of the port was the Havalдар. Owing to the extreme importance of this port, its Havaldari often was a stepping stone to the office of Sar Khail at the centre. Mulla Taqi, its Havalдар was promoted to be Sar Khail in 1627-28. The famous Muhammad Sa'id alias Mir Jumla started his career as a Havalдар of Masulipatam. Under the Havalдар, there was the port officer Shah i Bandar in charge of customs on imports and exports. Our information about the rates of customs is very scanty. Peter Floris visited Masulipatam in 1611 and mentioned that heavy duties were levied in addition to the customs and that demands for presents and forced loans were made by the Havalдар as the price of his favour.<sup>3</sup> He was required to pay 5 per cent duty on imports and exports plus about 13 per cent for stamping and brokerage.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch

1. The Empire of the Great Mogol, De Laet. p.73.

2. Ippolito Desideri, Il Nuvo Ramusio. ed. Luciano Petech in the series Missionaire Italiane Nel Tibet E Nel Nepal, Rome, 1956. vol.7. p.221.

3. Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies, 1611-15. ed. W.H. Moreland. Hakulyt, London, 1934. p.XXII.

4. Ibid. p.14 and p.15 foot note.



established a factory here in about 1615 and by a Qutb Shahi Farman, they were permitted to trade on an annual payment to the state of 3,000 Huns.<sup>1</sup> Their relations on the whole remained cordial with the Qutb Shah.<sup>2</sup>

Frontier Posts:-On the frontiers of Bijapur and Golconda, there were various check posts, where incomers had to pay customs. Thevenot condemns these officials for their exactions.<sup>3</sup>

Village Administration:- It has become a fashion to refer to the Indian village as an autonomous unit, containing in miniature all the essentials of a state within itself, and sufficient to protect its members in most emergencies. This statement is not entirely true. Though there was no direct control or supervision of the villages by the central government, they were never entirely left alone. If the village administration did not impart justice to the satisfaction of both the parties to a dispute, either of them could appeal to the higher authorities for redress. The paucity of material does not give us many instances to substantiate this assertion, but one

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur .F.48. pp.786-88.

2. The Dutch trader Captain Moore was complimented by Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah and was favoured with the In'am of the village of Pakal and also granted permission to collect the usual taxes for his subsistence. Vide Farman of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah to Captain Moore issued in 1674 and at present lying with the D.M.G. Marburg. Its photostat with me.

3. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, ed. Surendranath. New Delhi, 1949. pp.130-131.



most conspicuous example has often been cited that of the case of Narsoji Jagdale of Masur (in the Satara District) versus Bapuji <sup>bin Yagubji</sup> Musalman of Kard.<sup>1</sup> Another such example is that of the Patelship of the village of Ukali, which was disputed by Hande Hanama Naik; 'Ali 'Adil Shah I decided against the plaintiff and confirmed Melagaunda and Parmagaunda in office, as they were the hereditary Patels of the said village. In an 'Adil Shahi Farman dated 1566, Hande Hanama Naik was directed never to claim that office thereafter.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, the Muslim rulers had nothing to do with the personal law of the Hindus; such cases were decided by the Brahmasabha. Owing to the poor means of communication, the villagers could not expect any timely help from the central government if any emergency arose. Therefore, for the maintenance of peace in their areas from within and without, they had assumed collective responsibility. Some forty years ago, two inscriptions<sup>3</sup> were discovered at Tirukkolakkudi and Kandadevi dated 1360 A.D. and 1369 A.D. respectively, which record the villagers' understanding to keep peace in their

1. History of Village Communities in India, A.S. Altekar. OUP 1927. pp. 44-45. For details of this example see the section on Panchayat System.

2. M.G.H. Khare, "A letter of assurance from 'Ali 'Adil Shah I". Indian Historical Records Commission, October 1945.

3. South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, S. Aiyangar. Madras, 1921. pp. 226-30. These villages at that time belonged to the sultanate of Madura.



neighbourhood and to protect the weak. It is generally recognised that this sense of collective responsibility was an essential feature of the life in the medieval Deccan.

An important cause of quarrels between the neighbouring villages was the question of boundary disputes. The limits of the villages were carefully marked with stones and jealously guarded. The Elliot Collection contains several Farmans dealing with boundary disputes implying thereby clearly that the villages were not left alone by the central government whenever there was a threat to law and order.. In 1615, the 'Adil Shah ~~had~~ ordered "Sidi 'Ali, the Havaladar of Murtazabad to proceed to the Mouza' of Kuntji and bring the affair to a settlement by placing the stones in the very place where the limits of the said Mouza' are and (have been) from former times and after giving the men of the said Mouza' the necessary admonition, ~~prevent~~ prevent them from proceeding to extremities"<sup>1</sup>. In 1621, the 'Adil Shah issued a Farman to the Havaladar of Raybag (appointed by the jagirdar Maulana Baba)"to give necessary admonition to the men of the Mouza's of Kuntji and Chincholi<sup>2</sup> and get the boundary stones restored to their former places".<sup>3</sup> In 1625, the

'Adil Shah issued an order to the Havaladar of Raybag (appointed

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1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farman 2.

2. Chancholi is the modern Chanchwal, a taluq headquarter in the N.E. of Gulbarga District, Haidarabad State. Imperial Gazetteer, vol. 16. p. 227.

3. W. Elliot Collection, op. cit. Farman 3.



by the jagirdar Shah Nawaz Khan) to "settle the boundary dispute of the village Kuntji with stones duly fixed to show boundaries and command those men never to interfere or transgress otherwise they will suffer"<sup>1</sup>. Likewise in 1627, the 'Adil Shah issued an order to the Havaldar of Raybag (appointed by the jagirdar-cum-minister Ikhlas Khan) to "settle the boundary disputes between the villages of Chancholi, Sargur and Kuntji and command the men of the three Mouza's never to interfere and transgress the boundaries in any manner".<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is clear that the villages were not independent in their mutual relations and were dependent upon the central government to solve their difficulties.

The village administration was essentially run by the Twelve Balutas.<sup>3</sup> The most important of them was the Headman known as Patel in the Bijapur kingdom and Reddy in the kingdom of Golconda. He was the head of the local militia (roughly may be called police) and of the administration of justice in the village. He also used to help in the settlement of disputes between the villagers. His miscellaneous duties included repairing the ~~village~~ wells, reception and entertainment

1. W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur. F. 50. Farman 4.

2. Ibid. Farman 6.

3. It is not possible to trace the antiquity of this institution. According to old Hindu traditions in the 2000<sup>th</sup> year of the Kaliyug as shown by an inscription at Dharanikota (now in Guntur District and in ruins) in the vicinity of river Krishna in Andhra Desam, a king named Mukanti of the Pallava race (who had ~~three eyes~~ a third eye in his forehead) was the first to establish the institution of Twelve Balutas.

W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Ms Eur F. 46. pp. 99-103.



of state officials on tour in his village. Apart from these duties, the collection of land revenue was always his function. He also fixed the share of revenue each cultivator had to pay. After having collected it, it was his duty to pay it to the government or to the jagirdar as the case may be. He was required to endeavour for the promotion of cultivation and prosperity of his villagers. In return for these services, he possessed a Watan or rent free land and was also allowed a commission on the amount of revenue collected by his superior. He also claimed some minor taxes in the form of an annual supply of shoes, oil, vegetables, cloth etc from the various members of the community.<sup>1</sup>

Karnam or Kulkarni:- Next in importance to the Headman was the Karnam<sup>2</sup>, who kept records of general assessment and descriptions of all village lands. A list of fields with the names of cultivators, the size and quality of each and its rent and details concerning cowherds, merchants, artisans etc were maintained for purposes of imposing taxes. The Karnam also acted as a notary public in drawing up all agreements of the people. Altekar's assertion<sup>3</sup> that the office of Karnam is neither very old nor very important is hardly correct. Its antiquity is

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1. Administrative System of the Marathas, Surendranath Sen. pp.218-28.

2. Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa, pp.276-77 enclosed in Selections from the Minutes and other official writings of the Hon'ble M.Elphinstone. ed. George Forrest, London 1884.

3. History of village communities in India. Poona, 1927. p.12.



confirmed by Arthashastra,<sup>1</sup> where an official called Gopa fulfilled many of the functions of the accountants of later times. The Karnam sometimes received remuneration in the form of Watan lands and sometimes in the form of fees allotted to him by the government. If the village was very small, it might be without an accountant of its own; in that case several villages used to have one accountant.

Talari or Watchman:-He was called Talari in the Carnatic and Mhar in the Maharashtra. The watch and ward of the village was his duty. He was required to be vigilant at night, to observe the departures and arrivals and to report all suspicious cases to the Headman. It was his responsibility to trace out thefts, failing which he was required to make good the loss himself. If he failed to do so, his grainshare at the time of harvest was held back and his Watan land confiscated.

He kept watch over the boundaries of the villages and also on each individual's fields to see that they were not encroached upon; he gave evidence in cases of dispute. He also safeguarded the crops, whether cut or growing, as long as they were in the field.

Nir Ganti:-He was solely in charge of the canals or tanks and had to see that the cultivated lands get a due share of irrigation. He, however did not collect the water charges,  
1. Arthashastra, Eng tr. R. Shamasastri. Mysore, 1923. pp. 50, 173.



which only the jagirdar<sup>1</sup> or any official meant for the collection of land revenue could collect.

The above-mentioned four officials often had to deal with the central government, but the eight persons now to be mentioned were mainly concerned with the villagers and they were strictly their servants. They were Sutar (carpenter), Lohar (blacksmith), Chamar, (shoe-maker), Jotshi (astrologer) Kumhar (potter), Nhavi (barber), Parit (washerman) and Bhat (priest). If the village had a sufficient number of Muslims, it also used to have a leader of community prayers. This number of eight servants was, however, never fixed and varied according to the size and importance of the village. The main object in having them was to make the village fairly a self-sufficing unit. Every village consisted predominantly of the cultivators; a farmer could hardly proceed with his work without the help of a blacksmith or a carpenter who could make or mend his tools. Similarly the rest of the servants satisfied the various needs of the community. They were paid for their services not in cash but in grain and fodder. The quota paid by each farmer was in accordance with the amount of services rendered by the particular servant to him and hence it differed from cultivator to cultivator. Payment was made at the harvest time.

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1. W. Elliot Collection, Farman 12. (I.O.Ms Eur.F.50).



The Administration of Justice:- (civil cases). On receipt of a complaint, the village Headman summoned the accused party. If an injury was admitted, then the case was settled in a friendly manner, but if the case was disputed and the Headman failed to satisfy both the parties, then Panchayat was called though only with the previous consent of the parties. If the parties were still dissatisfied, then they could approach the pargana officials or even the central government as a last resort.<sup>1</sup>

Panchayat System:- The origin of this system is lost in the mists of history. It was firmly established in the age of the Mauryas. The Panchayat was not a permanent body but was made up when occasion demanded it.<sup>2</sup> Generally it consisted of the Patel, Kulkarni and other notables of the village, but the essential condition was that the parties to a dispute must have full faith in the members of the Panchayat. The number of members was, however, never fixed and varied according to the nature of the case. The decisions of the Panchayat were backed not only by the public opinion but ~~also~~ also by the forces of the central government, the most conspicuous example being the case of Narsoji Jagdale of Masur.<sup>3</sup> In the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, there was a dispute between this Jagdale and one

1. History of Village Communities in India, A.S. Altekar. pp. 44-45.

2. (Lieut.-Col. Charles Eckford) Luard Collection, I.O. Ms Eur.E.133. f.169.

3. Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhane (~~and~~ Sources of the History of the Marathas), ed. V.K. Rajwade. vol. 15. p. 22.



Bapaji bin Y'aqubji Musalman of Kard regarding the patelship of Masur. The case was decided in favour of Jagdale by the village Panchayat. The dissatisfied Bapaji Musalman appealed to the Bargana Panchayat at Karad but in vain. At long last, he went to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II and alleged that the Panchayat of Hindu members have wrongly favoured their co-religionist Jagdale to the utter detriment to his best interests and he requested a re-trial of the case at the Shah's court. The Shah ordered a re-trial of the case at the Panchayat court of Paithan. But even then the decision went against the Muslim complainant and the Shah enforced this decision.

The jurisdiction of the Panchayat, however, extended only to minor cases of petty assaults, trespasses, abusive language or property cases, but crimes of serious nature were always excluded from its jurisdiction.

Land Revenue and other taxes:-From times <sup>my</sup>imemorial, the king has been regarded as the owner of the land and the land revenue his principal source of income. For a long time, it was paid in kind. Even under the Muslims, payment of land revenue in grain was usual. The amount of land revenue collected was not fixed; it varied from reign to reign according to the needs of the government. In theory, the rule of Bata'i or the equal division of crops between the



government and the cultivators was the practice<sup>1</sup>; this simple mode of rating lands for half their yearly produce is derived from the remotest antiquity. The ruler could always exact more but never less than his regular share. The state officials gathered the land revenue from the village Headman, who collected it from each tenant with the help of the Karnam. The Muslims introduced the system of farming, because most of them were foreigners in this country and found little time after the discharge of their duties civil and military alike to devote themselves to the collection of land revenue. The collection of land revenue is a difficult task requiring much patience and skill and this could not be properly dealt with by the busy military commanders. Therefore, a farming system was the only alternative for them. Moreland<sup>2</sup> has confused two systems of farming, the one prevailing in the Hindu state of Vijayanagar and the other in the Muslim Deccan; under the former, taxes were farmed out to the highest bidders but in the latter, jagirs were granted so that the incumbent could raise a military contingent and also pay some money to the state. In other words, in the former, condition of military service was not compulsory, in the latter it was.

1. Fifth Report of the Affairs of the English East India Company, Appendix 13 by J. Grant. p. 641. Madras, 1883 ii, 6.

2. The Agrarian System of Muslim India, W. H. Moreland. p. 12.



Along with the land revenue, the villagers had also to pay the thirteen taxes already enumerated in chapter v.



Some Reflections on the Political Institutions

The monarchy in both Bijapur and Golconda was essentially sectarian in character. If the Shah was a Shi'a, the Shi'a were the favoured children of the state and if he was a Sunni, the Sunnis were the greatest beneficiaries. This was normally the characteristic of the 'Adil Shahs and always the characteristic of the Qutb Shahs. Thus the personnel of the political institutions was often altered in accordance with the religious policy of the Shah, but the general pattern of the administration remained unaffected. The Sunnis and the Shi'a very often resorted to dissimulation in order to save their powers and privileges. In theory the equality of Hindus with the Muslims was not recognised, but in actual practice, toleration and even magnanimous treatment of the Hindus was a general feature of the state system. Islam was never imposed on the Hindus. Probably this is the reason that Islam remained the religion of a minority in the Deccan.

It is often said that in a despotic kingdom, the personality of the ruler is a dominant factor. It is also a reasonable assumption that even a ruler of forceful personality is powerless, unless he has a good administrative system at his back. But our discussions in the preceding pages have brought



home to us the fact that there was no well-organised central administrative system in these states. Their principles of government were loose; their land revenue system was far inferior to that of the Mughals and the public services rudimentary in form. Yet Bijapur and Golconda survived for about two centuries, warding off the Mughal power for many years, crushing and absorbing the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Their survival and growth was long unaffected by disputed successions to the throne, serious unrest from within and without at various times, and by the virtual abdication of pleasure-loving rulers. These facts call for explanation. The explanation suggested by our study is that the real element of strength in these states was not to be found in the throne, or in a strongly centralised royal administration, but in the Muslim nobility, and particularly in the leading personalities it threw up and who held office as Vakil or Mir Jumla. The Pardesi nobles, whatever their personal differences among themselves, had made the Deccan their adopted home with no intention of ever leaving it. It was obviously their interest to see that their settlement in that new land was never threatened from any quarter. Despite the selfishness and petty mindedness of some individuals, the chiefs as a body were dominated by one common aim, that of



strengthening their general hold over the land of their adoption. This it was which ultimately led to the consolidation of Muslim rule in the Deccan. Whatever the demerits of the jagir system, its sterling advantage was that by scattering Muslims in the interiors of the country as jagirdars, the foundations of the Muslim rule in the Deccan were strengthened. The disgruntled elements from the Mughal Empire who had sought refuge here, were ultra-loyalists.

Aurangzeb had to turn all the mighty resources of his empire against these rulers to extinguish them. During his "Crusade" against these states, he and his armies had to suffer enormous hardships and a great wastage of men, money and time and only then was he able to achieve his object. That such an effort was needed indicates the strength of the bonds between the Pardesi nobles. Had these nobles, of Bijapur and Golconda, joined the resources together and offered a united front to the invader, his task would have become even more difficult.

Yet despite the absurdity of the central system, in Sultanates where the Vakil was so often more powerful than the Shah, the hereditary monarchies <sup>survived</sup> in both Bijapur and Golconda for about two hundred years. The existence of powerful factions within the nobility and of a menace from the Hindu



South and later on from the Mughal North led to the survival of the Shah, as the one curb upon sectional jealousy, and as the necessary co-ordinator of "National" resistance to external pressure. <sup>i</sup>The balancing of forces within the Sultanates made impossible the creation of a vigorous central administration. The functions of the state were divided between crown and nobility. Departmental specialisation, the creation of a hierarchy of territorial divisions, the incorporation of all military elements into one royal ~~service~~ army - all these moves towards an effective royal government never were completed. Even the revenue system - with its tax-farming and oppressive financial devices, so burdensome to the people - was not fully centralised. (As for local administrative institutions, these were rarely interfered with, unless some serious threat to the Muslim ruling class threatened to develop).

The most unexpected aspect of these Muslim states' survival was the degree of Hindu-Muslim concord and unity which was achieved - even to the point where the Hindus and Muslims gladly participated in each other's festivals.



Appendix I. A Comparative Study of the Mansabdari System of Golconda with that of the Mughals.

As already mentioned in chapter VI, a manual of administration for the army of Golconda was discovered by the Sadr i Diwani Daftar, Haidarabad in the piles of papers all concerning the reign of Shah Jahan. The Mughal Governor of the Deccan was required to maintain a record of the military affairs concerning the Deccani states and his information was based upon the information of the Mughal representative stationed in these states. There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of such records which the Mughals kept for their own convenience. It is simply ridiculous to imagine that the Mughals would have forged this document to mislead the world and it is equally unlikely that the document was forged to mislead the Mughals. It appears from the information received from Haidarabad<sup>1</sup>, to be a genuinely old manuscript<sup>n</sup> written in a cream coloured Indian hand-made paper of average size of 8 inches x 4½ inches - yellowed and wormed on account of being so old. The strange discrepancies in the document at first glance arouse suspicion; but if the list had not been based on accurate information it is likely that the forger would have produced figures in proportion to the conventional numeration of the mansabs of the Golconda army instead of widely divergent ones. Therefore, we tentatively accept the authenticity of the figures given.

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1. Vide foot note of p.216.



The comparison of the Mughal mansabdari system with that of Golconda presents interesting features. According to A'in i Akbari,<sup>1</sup> Akbar created sixty six mansabs (which is the same as the value of letters in the name of Allah), but the list of mansabdars actually supplied by its author mentioned only <sup>thirty</sup> three mansabs really occupied by the various officers of the state. In Golconda state, however, there were only four mansabs, 10, 100, 1,000 and 5,000; this difference was probably due to her smaller areas of jurisdiction and hence no necessity for having large number of officers.

A Mughal Panj-Hazari (commander of 5,000) maintained<sup>2</sup>

<u>Horses</u>	<u>Elephants</u>	<u>Camels</u>	<u>Mules</u>	<u>Carts</u>
340	100	80	20	160

and his monthly pay was Rupees 30,000. This pay was reduced to Rupees ~~20~~ 20,000 in the reign of Shah Jahan.<sup>3</sup>

The Golconda Panj-Hazari maintained

<u>Horses</u>	<u>Horsemen</u>	<u>Bargirs</u>
1,000	880	1050

and his monthly pay was Huns 9404 or Rupees 47,020.<sup>4</sup> The number of carts, mules, elephants and camels required to be maintained by him is not stipulated anywhere, but it may be expected that he was certainly required to maintain them in reasonable numbers. Keeping in view the higher establishment

1. A'in i Akbari, Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami. Ed: H. Blochmann. p.179. Calcutta, 1872.

2. Ibid. Eng. tr. H. Blochmann. vol.1. p.248. Calcutta, 1873.

3. Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, ed: Yusuf Husain. Haidarabad, 1950. p.80.

4. One Hun was equal to five Rupees. Vide Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, op.cit. pp.200-201.



of the Golconda Panj-Hazari, it is not surprising to note that he gained a larger salary than his Mughal counterpart.

A Mughal Yak-Hazari (commander of 1,000) maintained<sup>1</sup>

<u>Horses</u>	<u>Elephants</u>	<u>Camels</u>	<u>Mules</u>	<u>Carts</u>
104	31	21	4 <del>5</del>	42

and his monthly pay was Rupees 82,00, which was reduced to 4,000 under Shah Jahan.<sup>2</sup>

The Golconda Yak-Hazari kept

<u>Horses</u>	<u>Horsemen</u>	<u>Bargirs</u>
1,000	880	1,000

and his monthly salary was Huns 9114 or Rupees 45,570. Thus a Mughal Yak-Hazari was quite insignificant if compared with the Golconda Yak-Hazari.

The astonishing fact, however, is that there is only a petty difference of Huns 290 between the salaries of a Panj-Hazari and a Yak-Hazari of Golconda and only the difference of 50 Bargirs in their forces. At once the doubt overwhelms us that the scribe might have made a numerical mistake. But when we study the detailed expenditure of the Yak-Hazari contingent, all the petty items of expenditure when totalled amount to Huns 9114 and this sum of money tallies with the total given by the scribe. Therefore, our irresistible conclusion is that the scribe recorded the figures correctly as they were set before him. Nevertheless this anomaly has to be explained. If the Mughals or other interested parties had

1. A'in i Akbari, Eng tr. H. Blochmann. vol. 1. p. 248. There is no clear explanation of the 1/5 mule owned by the Yak-Hazari. Blochmann thinks it to be mule colt, not yet serviceable.  
2. Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, p. 80.



concocted this document, then they would have been hardly so foolish as to have left this flaw undetected. In view of this we believe that the promotion from Yak-Hazari to Panj-Hazari was a mere title of honour and did not have any substantial difference in pay or strength as far as Golconda was concerned. The only other difference between the Panj-Hazari and the Yak-Hazari is in the number of their Bargirs, 1050 and 1000 respectively. The text states that of 1050 Bargirs of the Panj-Hazari, 50 were to be employed as spies or secret agents. Nothing is said about the appointment of spies from the 1000 Bargirs of the Yak-Hazari. It thus seems probable that only the senior officer was allowed to maintain these, though no doubt the Yak-Hazari would often do so unofficially in certain circumstances.

There was no Mughal rank of 100 under Akbar,<sup>1</sup> but the Mughal commander of 150 maintained 11 horses, 3 elephants, 2 camels and six carts; his ~~xxxx~~ monthly ranged from Rupees 800 to 875. Under Shah Jahan, the commander of <sup>5</sup>100 received Rupees 400 per mensem<sup>2</sup>. The Golconda Jumladar equivalent to the Mughal Yak-Sadi was paid 904¾ Huns or 452¾ Rupees per mensem and had 88 horsemen, 100 horses and 100 Bargirs. Since he maintained a larger establishment than the Mughal commander

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1. A'in i Akbari, Eng tr. H. Blochmann. vol. 1. p. 248.

2. Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign, p. 80.



of 150 even, therefore, his monthly pay was bound to be higher.

A Mughal Dah Bashi (rank-holder of 10) maintained only four horses and his monthly salary was Rupees 100<sup>1</sup>. Under Shah Jahan, there was no rank of 10, the minimum rank was that of twenty and a Bisti received Rupees 80 per mensem<sup>2</sup>. The Golconda rank-holder of 10 usually called Havaladar maintained 9 horsemen, 10 horses, 10 Bargirs and his monthly pay was 89¼ Huns or Rupees 448¼.

The above figures bring out the following conclusions:-  
The Golconda mansabdar maintained larger contingents and therefore, his pay was higher than that of his Mughal counter-  
-part. In the long run, he was probably not <sup>better</sup> ~~worse~~ off than the Mughal officer, as he had not only to spend a lot of money on his contingents, but also to stand the expenses of mules, carts and sometimes elephants even, for which the state paid him no extra money. On the other hand, the Mughal mansabdar was burdened with comparatively fewer responsibilities.  
factors  
Certain ~~other expenses~~ would no doubt add to the expenses of the Golconda Panj-Hazari in comparison with those of his Mughal counterpart. It is well known that good horses are not bred in the Deccan, and their cost would be appreciably higher than in the North. Moreover the Golconda mansabdar required

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1. A'in i Akbari, Eng tr. H. Blochmann. vol. 1. p. 249.

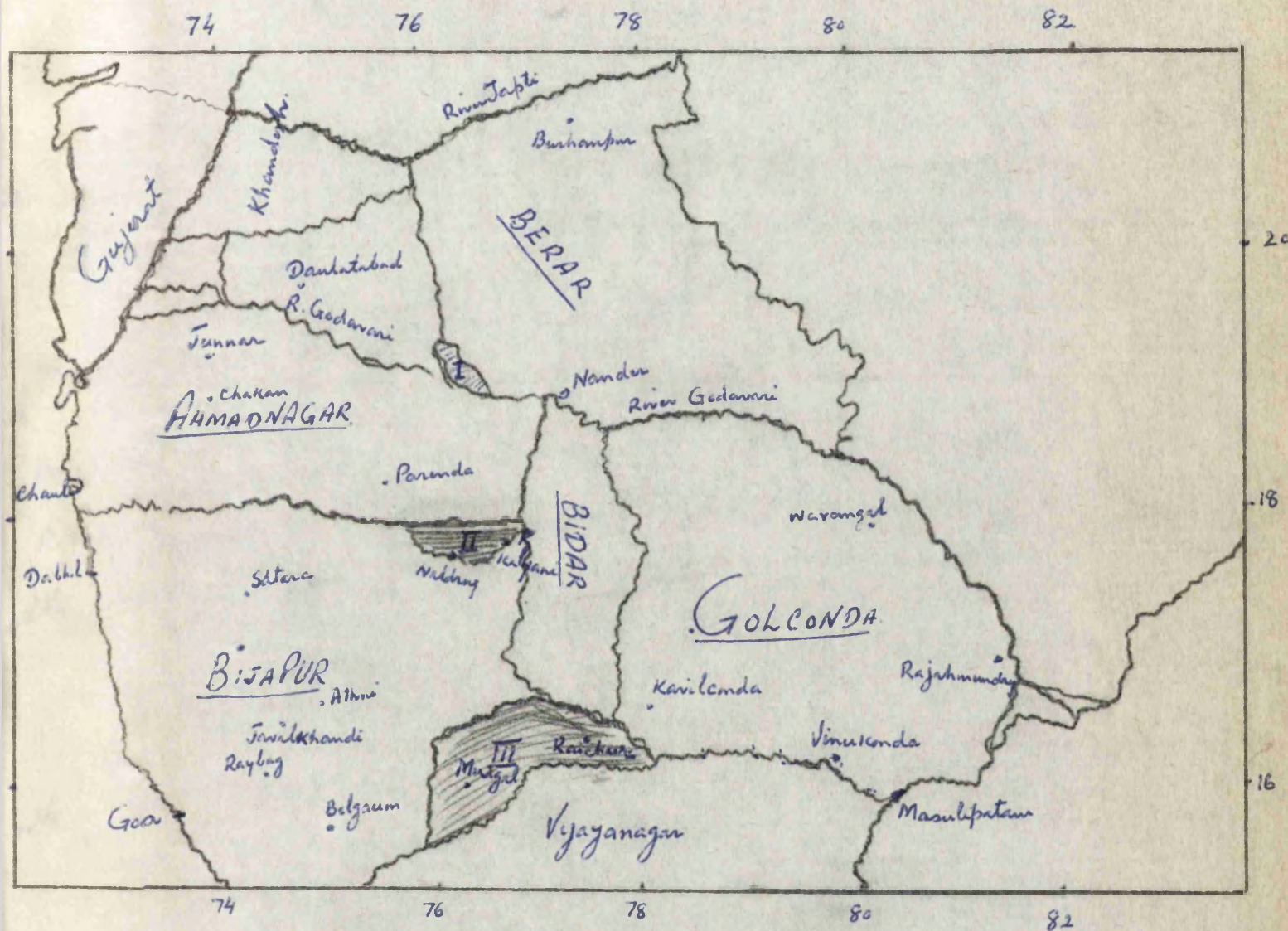
2. Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign. p. 84.



a larger number of Pakhalis for his horses than the Mughal, as is clear from the figures given on page 218, foot note 2. Thus the personal income of the two may have been roughly equal, or indeed it is possible that the Mughal mansabdar was actually better off. Probably this was the main reason responsible for the insignificant number of desertions from the Mughals to the re<sup>a</sup>lm of Golconda. Only very disgruntled elements would desert to Golconda in utter desperation (as already discussed in chapter III).



# Five Muslim Kingdoms Of the Deccan.

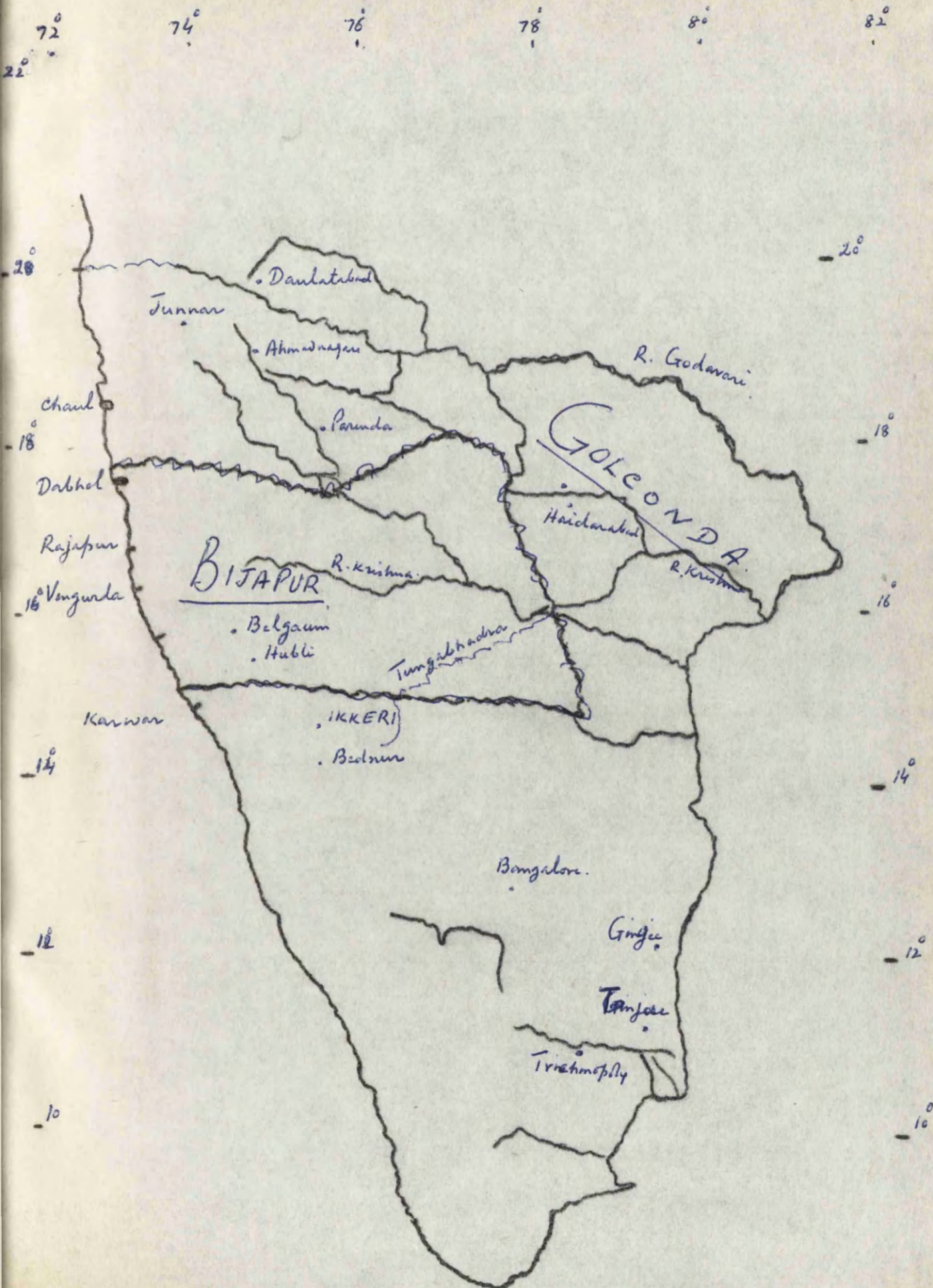


Shaded Territories are disputed places as under:-

- I. Pathri
- II. Kalyani and Naldurg.
- III. Mudgal and Raichur.

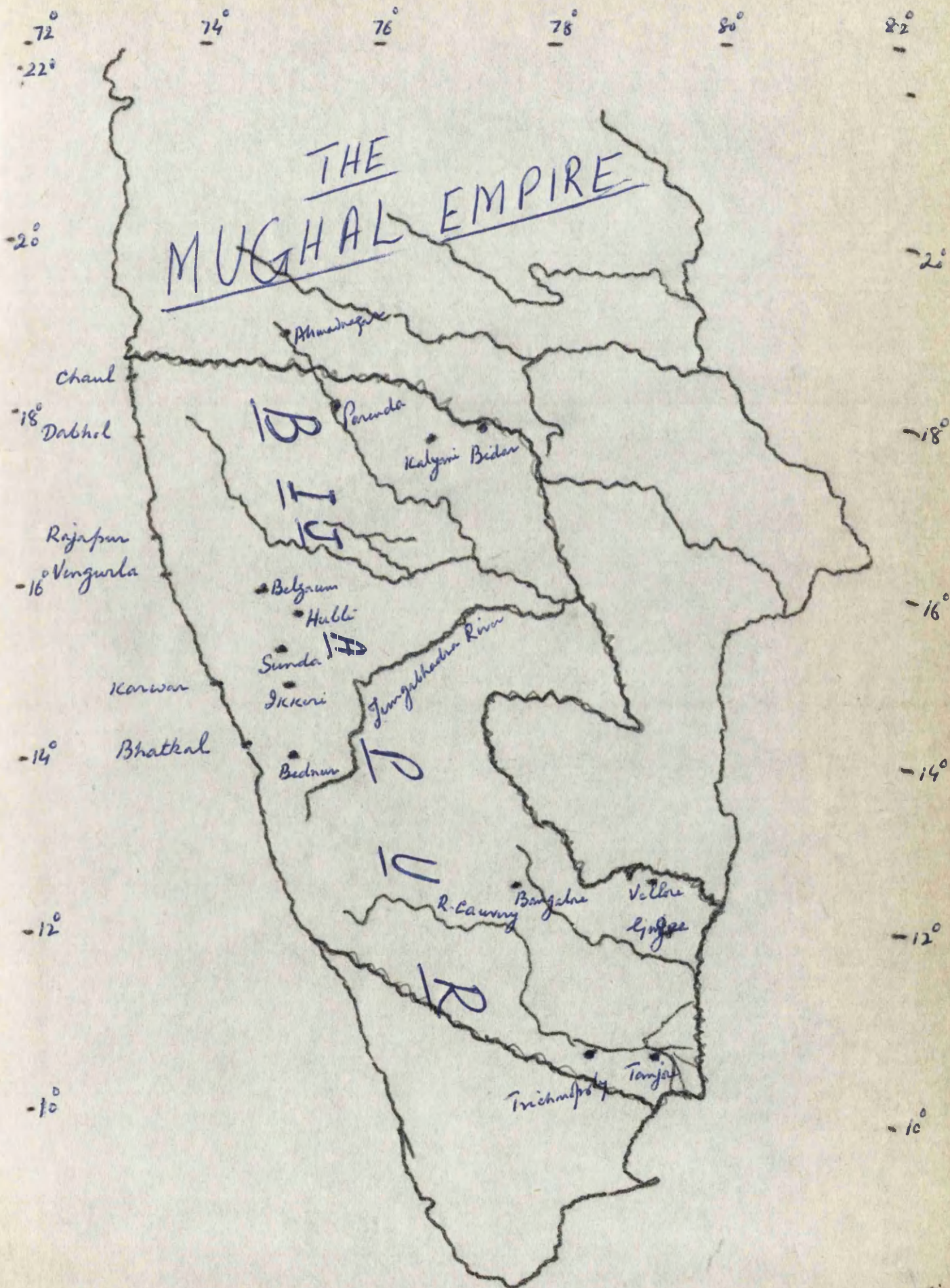


# Bijapur during the first quarter of the 17th Century.



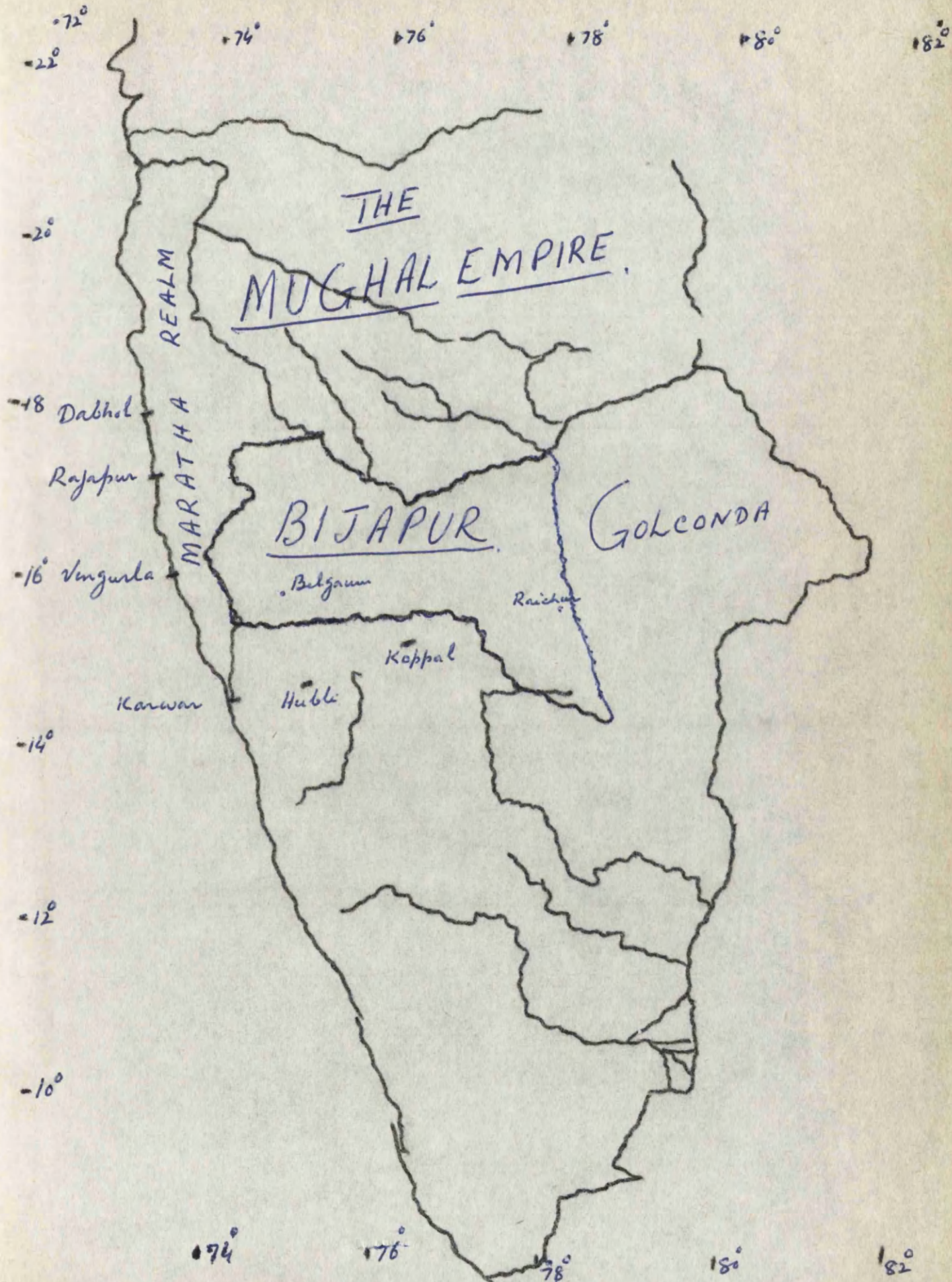


# Bijapur at its zenith in 1656





# Bijapur in 1680





## Golemda in the early 17th Century



Golemda in the 16th Century was in between the rivers Kistna and Godavari. After 1565, she went up to Nellore. It was really after 1636 that being a tributary of the Srungar, she regained the vast tracts of the Carnatic.



Sultan Quli Qutub-Mulk



Turkish  
dress.

He was commonly known as Bare Malik, first in govern-  
vazir of the King of Bidar, then King (from 1518-43) and founder of Golconda

Rijks Museum,  
Amsterdam.

H. Coet Catalogue no 28  
Lib. no. 19



Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550-80)



The Shah is wearing 'Orhni' here - typical Deccani dress

Rijks Museum,  
Amsterdam.

H. Goetz cat. no 29

Lib. no 19 B.



Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612)



Typical Deccani dress with an 'Orhni'.

Rijks Museum,  
Amsterdam.

H. Goelz cat. no 31

Lib. no. 21



Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612)



in *linghal* costume, but in *Deccani* fashion with longer coat, small turban with darpeesh, golden *Deccani* belt set with pearls.

Rijks Museum,  
Amsterdam.

A. G. Cat. no. 3  
Lib. no. 48.025



Israhim Adil Shah i (1534-58)



Deccani  
cap

H. Goltz

Cat. no.

20

Lib. no.

39

N.B The portraits given on pp 286-90 have short Portuguese notes at their bottom in their originals. They were written by in Goanese Jews who in order to escape the Portuguese Inquisition, worked as interpreters and clerks in the Dutch factory at Golconda later in the 17th Century.



B I B L I O G R A P H Y.Contemporary Sources.Persian.

'Adil Nama, Hakim Muhammad Amin Atishi. I.O.Ms 1685.

This is a Masnavi on the exploits of Muhammad 'Adil Shah composed in 1633; the relevant folios are 108-199, the beginning is apparently missing.

Ahwal i Salatin i Bijapur, Muhyu'd-din Pirzada. BM Ms Add 26270.

This is a sketch of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty from its origin till its extinction. This work is very brief, but as Ferishta breaks off the history of Bijapur abruptly at 1596, it is invaluable as a continuation of that history. Though compiled in 1806, it has an original value, as it is based on two works, namely, Tarikh i 'Ali 'Adil Shah II by Mir Ibrahim and another Tarikh on the same ruler by Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan, which are not available these days.

A'in i Akbari, Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami. This is actually the fourth part of the famous work Akbar Nama. The Persian text edited by H.Blochmann. Calcutta, 1872.

Akbar Nama, Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami. This is the famous history of Akbar completed in 1595 and later on continued till 1601. Its Persian text edited by Maulvi 'Abdu'r-Rahim. Calcutta, 1886. (only 3rd part used).



Akhlaq i Mohsini, Husain Wa'iz Kashifi. This is a work on ethics written in 1495. Its Persian text was published at Hertford in 1850.

Akhlaq i Nasiri, Nasiru'd-din Tusi. This is a famous book on ethics composed in 1236. It has been edited by Muhammad 'Azizu'd-din. Lith. Lahore, 1865.

Akhlaq i Shafa'i, Muzaffaru'l-Husainia't-Tabibu'l-Kashani. BM Ms Or 3546. This is also a work on ethics composed under the early Safavids.

Basatinu's-Salatin, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi. Lith. Haidarabad. N.D. C.A.Storey in his Persian Literature, a Bio-Bibliographical Survey, section 2, fasciculus 3, p.746 (London, 1939) gives 1892-93 as the date of its publication. This is a very important history dealing with the 'Adil Shahs from their origin till extinction. Though written only in 1824, it is based on original contemporary sources not now available to us - sources, such as Muhammad Nama written in 1641 at the order of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, containing a detailed account of the Shah's achievements and also Tarikh i 'Ali 'Adil Shahi by Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan bin Qazi 'Abdu'l-'Aziz.

Being based on contemporary sources, it is better to consider Basatinu's-Salatin as a contemporary source rather than a modern source.

Burhan i Ma'asir, 'Ali bin 'Azizu'llah<sup>Tabata'i.</sup> BM Ms Add 9996-98. This is a history of the Bahmanis and the Nizam Shahs of



Abmadnagar written in or about 1595. It contains several sidelights on Bijapur and Golconda.

Faraminu's-Salatin, contemporary Farmans collected and edited by Bashiru'd-din Ahmad. Delhi, 1926.

Fayazu'l-Qawanin, BM Ms Or 9617, vol.1. This is a collection of Farmans of the Mughal Emperors in the possession of Nawab Muhammad 'Ali Hasan. These Farmans were brought together and furnished with an introduction in Urdu by 'Abdu's-Salam Khan in 1905.

Futuhāt i 'Adil Shahi, Fuzuni Astrabadi. BM Ms Add 27251. This is a history of the 'Adil Shahs from their origin till 1644 and was completed in the same year. It contains six chapters in all, the first four chapters dealing with Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Isma'il 'Adil Khan, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I and 'Ali 'Adil Shah I and the fifth and the sixth discussing in greater details the reigns of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II and Muhammad 'Adil Shah respectively. The first four chapters seem to be mere compilations from earlier sources and possess no independent value, but the last two chapters deal with events mostly enacted during the lifetime of Fuzuni and hence possess an independent value of their own.

Hadīqatu's-Salatin: Nizamu'd-dīnu's-Sa'idīu'Shirazi.

Nizamu'd-din was a learned man in the court of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah who wrote pompous history of his patron from the birth till the sixteenth year of his reign (1641). It has been



edited by Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrami in two volumes and lithographed at Haidarabad in 1931.

History of India as told by its Historians, Sir Henry Elliot and J. Dowson. Vols. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. London, 1871, 1872-77.

'inu'l-Hayat, Muhammad Bakir bin Muhammad Taqi Majlisi.

I.O. Ms 587. It is an exhaustive work written in 1674 on Shi'a theology.

Khaza'inu'l-Futuh, Amir Khusrau. BM Ms Add 16838. This is a history of 'Alau'd-din Khalji from his accession till 1311.

Ma'asir i Qutb Shahi Mahmudi, Mahmud bin 'Abdullah Nishapuri.

I.O. Ms 841. The title is misleading. This work is mostly a history of the Safavids. It begins with an account of the Safavids from Shaikh Safi to Shah 'Abbas to whom the largest portion of the manuscript is devoted. It only relates in bare outlines the events of the reigns of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Qutb Shah, whereas it discusses in detail the events under the contemporary Safavids. The author had served both the Qutb Shahi rulers named above. It is difficult to find out the date of composition of this work, it was either 1623 or 1629. The manuscript is incomplete.

Majalisu'l-Mominin, Sayyid Nur'Ullah Shushtari. BM Ms

Add 23541. This work discusses the lives of the eminent Shi'as from the rise of Islam to the beginning of the Safavids.

Matla'u's-Sa'din, 'Abdu'l-Razaq Samarqandi. The author visited the Deccan in the middle of the fifteenth century and his



impressions contained in the portions of this work are very useful. This work has been edited by Muhammad Shafi' and lithographed at Lahore in 1949.

Munashiyat i 'Abdu'l-'Ali Tabrezi, BM Ms Add 6600. This work has no preface and is a mere collection of letters written on behalf of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah by his Dabir 'Abdu'l-'Ali Tabrezi. They are addressed to the Mughal Emperors, nobles and the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

Muntakhabu'l-Lubab, Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan. This is a celebrated history of Muslim India from the Muslim conquest to the reign of Muhammad Shah. It was compiled in or about 1732. Vols I and II were edited by Maulvi Kabiru'd-din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1869 and 1874 respectively; volume 3 has been edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, Calcutta, 1925.

Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, 'Abdu'l-Qadir Badaoni. This is a history of Muslim India from the Muslim conquest to 1595-96. The text has been edited by Maulvi Ahmad 'Ali. Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1865-69.

Naql i Jamshid Khan, Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle. This is a unique manuscript. It deals with the political events of the reign of Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk. A microfilm of the manuscript was secured for the present writer through the special efforts of Professor Hans Wehr of Münster, who had to write to the East German authorities several times. The writer would wish to record his gratitude to Professor Wehr for his great assistance in this matter.



Notes on the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty based on Persian sources no longer extant, J.G.Duff. BM Ms Add 29209.

Nuskha i Dilkusha, Bhim Sen. BM Ms Or 23. This manuscript contains the author's historical reminiscences in the Deccan from Aurangzeb's war of succession till the latter's death in 1707. It was completed in 1708.

Padshah Nama, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lahori. This is the official history of the first twenty years of Shah Jahan's reign. The text has been edited by Maulvi Kabiru'd-din Ahmad and Maulvi 'Abdu'r-Rahim. Vol.1.Bib.Ind. Calcutta,1867.  
Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign,ed.Yusuf Husain. Haidarabad,1950.

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Shah Ni'matu'llah Wali Kirmani,ed.Jean Aubin. Paris,1956.

Tarikh i 'Alam-Arai 'Abbasi,Iskandar Munshi. ed.Iraj Afshar. 2 vols. Teheran,1955-56. This is a detailed history of the Safavids written in 1666.

Tarikh i 'Ali 'Adil Shah II,Nur Ullah bin Qazi Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad al-Husaini al-Qadri. BM Ms Add 27252. The author was a prominent man of letters whose company 'Ali 'Adil Shah II greatly appreciated. This history was written under orders from the Shah, the date of its completion is not known. This history starts from the birth of the Shah and ends at the invasion of Bijapur by Mirza Raja Jai Singh in 1665.



Tarikh i Ferishta, ed. John Briggs. 2 vols. Lith. Bombay, 1831.

Ferishta was one of the most accomplished men of the court of Bijapur and wrote his Tarikh in the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II in 1606. Ferishta, in his preface states that he had consulted not less than 35 rare books during the composition of this history; there are also quotations from more than 20 important books in this work. No medieval history of the Deccan surpasses that of Ferishta as far the wealth of its material is concerned.

Being on the whole loyal to the salt of the 'Adil Shahiya dynasty, Ferishta frequently reproaches the Qutb Shahs, particularly Jamshid Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk, with deserting their allies in the prosecution of their selfish ends, or condemns them indirectly by pointing to the loyalty of the 'Adil Shahs to their allies - a sweeping judgement indeed. Moreover, being a Shi'a, Ferishta cannot at times restrain his passion against the Sunnis. His canard that Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I had the tutor Khwaja 'Inayat Ullah Shirazi hanged on a legal decree of the Sunni 'Ulama, is not at all confirmed by the contemporary Shi'a historian Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi. His un-called-for defence of Asad Khan Lari and undue strictures against Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I show his malice against the Sunnis. He is also not interested in and devotes little attention to agrarian questions.

Ferishta's information about the history and coins of



the Qutb Shahs is incomplete. His assertion that Hayat Bakhsh Begum was married to a Safavid prince is definitely wrong. The Kulliyat of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and the official Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi contradict him.

Ferishta's assertion that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (in the early eleventh century) had artillery is ridiculous.

Tarikh i Khurshah, BM Ms Add 23513. Khurshah, an Iraqi, came to Golconda in the reign of Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah and wrote a detailed history of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty. This was the work Ferishta could not lay his hands upon while writing his Tarikh.

Tarikh i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi, Anonymous. BM Ms Add 6542. This is the official history of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty completed in or about 1617. Very verbose in style, its intrinsic value is not great.

Tawarikh i Qutb Shah, I.O. Ms 2645. The author conceals his name but says that it took him ten years to complete this work which he dedicated to Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. This work is actually a poem of 20,000 verses and traces the history of the Qutb Shahiya dynasty down to the close of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. It gives the genealogy of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk on f.15b.

Tazkiratu'l-Muluk, Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Persian Supplement 189. This is a history of the



'Adil Shahiya dynasty composed in 1609. The author gives only scanty information about the reigns of Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Isma'il 'Adil Khan and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, but gives a lot of data concerning the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I and the regency period going upto the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II till the year 1609. The details furnished by the writer about the reigns of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II are very interesting and graphic. It was under these sovereigns that Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi filled various posts acting at times as palace chamberlain, custodian of the royal seal and officer in charge of foreign correspondence. He was also deputed on diplomatic missions to Ahmadnagar. His history records various events that he claims were enacted before his very eyes and it bears the impress of authenticity. For instance, when 'Ali 'Adil Shah I was assassinated, Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi was present outside the Shah's chamber and he participated in the events that followed. His biographical sketches of the Muslim grandees of the age, men such as Mahmud Gawan, Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Shah Tahir and Mustafa Khan are very interesting. He and Ferishta wrote their histories in the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.

Tuzuk i Jahangiri, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Lith. Aligarh, 1864.

This book contains the memoirs of Jahangir written by the Emperor himself down to the middle of the 17th year of his reign (1622).



W. Elliot Collection, I.O. Mss Eur. F. 50.

Sir Walter Elliot served in various capacities in the Madras Presidency from 1821-60: he was private secretary to the Governor Lord Elphinstone, member of the Board of Revenue and Commissioner of the Northern Circars with all powers of the Board of Revenue in revenue matters. During this period, he diligently collected information of every description about the people of the Deccan, their history, their coins, inscriptions etc.

The present manuscript contains 49 rough translations of 'Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi Farmans concerning the grants of lands. These translations also contain, within brackets, such Persian technical terms for which Sir W. Elliot could not find equivalents in English. The cataloguer of this manuscript (Edward Hamilton Johnston) has doubted the authenticity of the Farmans contained in it.<sup>1</sup> But he gives no grounds for such doubts, and it seems that he never went through them carefully. Thus whereas he states that the 49 Farmans were issued by the Government of Bijapur, it seems clear that while Farmans 1-44 are from Bijapur, Farmans 45-49 are from Golconda. The latter were issued to the Havaldars of the parganas of Ellore and Rajamahendry, which

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1. Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages, vol. 2, part 2 section 2, pp. 1416-17. The volume 2 of this Catalogue though printed has not yet been published.



territories definitely belonged to Golconda and not to Bijapur. A comparison of these records with such original Farmans of Bijapur as are available, reveals a striking similarity. Sir W. Elliot during his tenure of office went from house to house in search of original documents and himself prepared copies of the Farmans. By no stretch of imagination can we charge him with deliberate forgery, and it is clear that many of the technical Persian or Deccani Urdu terms were unintelligible to him. Nor does there seem any likelihood that the owners of the documents had forged them, for many of them are records of administrative actions, which confer no titles, confirm no rights. The most important data gained from these documents is a list of taxes on the people - which is not to be gained from any of our sources.

### Deccani Urdu

The sources in Deccani Urdu are unique in the sense that to the best of my knowledge, they have not been utilised by any historian of the Deccan history so far. Deccani Urdu is quite different from the modern Urdu and it is not at all colloquial. Also there is no Dictionary of Deccani Urdu compiled by anybody. Hence its study has presented ~~difficulties~~ difficulties to the scholars. Fortunately, Deccani Urdu bears a striking similarity with the Panjabi language spoken



in the villages (not the one spoken in the towns) and the present writer hailing from a Panjabi village has succeeded in gaining a lot from this material which was as yet mostly obscure.

'Ali Nama, Mulla Nusrati. BM Ms Add 26257. Mulla Nusrati was a poet in the court of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II and he wrote the history of the Shah in verses. The text has been edited by 'Abdu'l-Majid Siddiqi, Haidarabad, Deccan, 1959. It seems that the text needs some re-casting as the editor admits again and again his weak grasp over this language.

Kulliyat i 'Abdullah Qutb Shah: This is a collection of the poems of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah and has been edited by Professor Syed Muhammad, Haidarabad, Deccan, 1955. In his introduction, the editor has given a good life sketch of the Shah.

Kulliyat i Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah: ed. Muhyu'd-din Qadri Zor. Haidarabad, Deccan, 1940. This source has been of great value in the writing of this dissertation.

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A Bijapuri noble wearing a turban and leading a deer about 1620. BM Miniatures 1922-10-8-024.

Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shah alias Tana Shah wearing a turban, between 1650 and 1680. BM Miniatures 1955-10-8-024.



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Portrait of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in Mughal costume but in Deccani fashion, with larger coat, small turban with sarpeech, golden Deccani belt set with pearls. About 1630.

Catalogue no.3. Library no. 48.05.

Portrait of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah with the Orhni.

Catalogue no.31. Library no.21.

Portrait of Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk in Turkish dress.

Catalogue no.28. Library no.19.

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